The Problem of the Holy Places

THE Nation

November 12, 1949

It Ain't Necessarily So!

Mankind Need Not Starve

BY EARL PARKER HANSON

✕

Surgery in the C.I.O.

BY ROBERT BENDINER

✕

What's All This Semantics?

BY STUART CHASE

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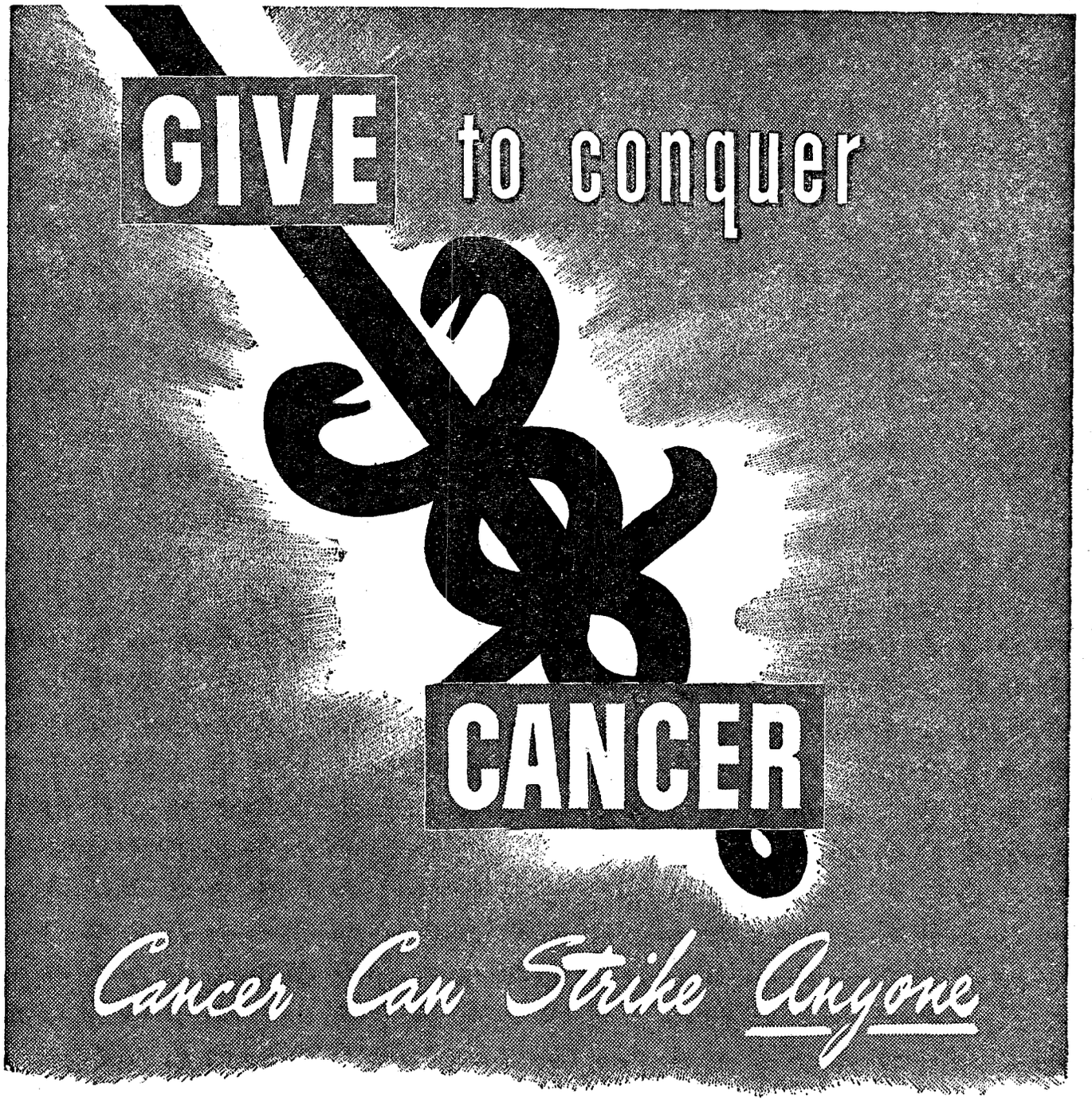

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE BETHLEHEM Steel Corporation and the United Steelworkers appears satisfactory, but it remains to be seen whether it will set a pattern for the whole industry. There were two reasons why this company proved the easiest to crack despite its reputation for toughness. First, its chairman, Eugene Grace, probably welcomed the chance to pay off his grudge against "Big Steel" for breaking the united front of the industry in past strikes. Second, it had operated a non-contributory pension scheme for twenty-six years and so could hardly oppose this principle. The agreement it has signed means raising payments for men reaching the age of sixty-five after at least twenty-five years' service from $50 to $100 a month. On the question of social insurance, the union compromised, agreeing that the cost, equal to five cents an hour, should be split between company and workers. This apparently will not mean any new deduction from "take-home" pay, since Bethlehem employees are already contributing to a social-insurance fund. Bethlehem is the second largest unit in the industry, and taking into account the smaller concerns which have also settled with the union, 23 per cent of the nation's steel-making capacity is now back in operation. However, this is not nearly sufficient to meet demands, and large-scale layoffs in the steel-using industries are adding daily to the total of unemployment. It is to be hoped, therefore, that further settlements will not be long delayed. Negotiations with several large concerns are said to be progressing, but difficulties may arise with some smaller companies which insist that their financial conditions preclude any attempt to match Bethlehem's terms. United States Steel, which can hardly have the gall to use this excuse—its profits for the first nine months of this year were more than 50 per cent higher than in the corresponding period of 1948—still clings to the principle of contributory pensions, except for top executives.

*

WRITING ON THE EVE OF ELECTION DAY, we find ourselves relieved to be at the end of a campaign season marked by more than the normal quantity of confusion, slander, and downright lying. We have given our readers some idea of the cross-currents in the New York elections and of the surprisingly shoddy nature of John Foster Dulles's bid for a seat in the Senate by mandate of the voters rather than by grace of Tom Dewey. After weeks of attempting to make his opponent, Herbert H. Lehman, appear to be a creature of the Communists and of slily cultivating racial feeling against Lehman's supporters, it is Dulles who comes down the home stretch as the aggrieved party. His opponents, he says, have "abandoned all sense of decency," and in particular he is incensed by the remarks of Harold Ickes, whom he calls a "professional smear artist," for having brought up Dulles's alleged pre-war connections with Nazi cartelists. Both the Republican candidate's denials and the Ickes allegations are so unequivocal that there is obviously prevarication somewhere—and on a grand scale. Should Dulles win, the matter will certainly bear further investigation. . . . If Marcantonio gets a bigger vote than now seems probable, he will owe a measure of thanks to "New York's Finest." At least one reliable eyewitness to the rioting that attended the homecoming of Benjamin J. Davis, one of the Communist leaders now free on bail, has fixed blame for the violence on the police. From Ted Poston's vivid account in the New York *Post–Home News* it would appear that their free-swinging nightsticks must cost Mayor O'Dwyer a good many votes in Harlem and elsewhere. . . . Next week, in his regular column, Robert Bendiner will round up Tuesday's work at the polls and indicate its bearing, if any, on the elections of 1950.

*

THE SUPREME COURT WILL HEAR ARGUMENT next month in one of the most important cases ever brought before it, that of Elmer W. Henderson, a Negro who in 1942, traveling by train from Washington, D. C., to Birmingham, Alabama, as a representative of the war-time Fair Employment Practices Commission, was three times in one evening refused entry to a dining-car because its two "Jim Crow" tables—the only ones available for Negroes—were occupied by white patrons. Henderson fruitlessly petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to put an end to this form of segregation, and a subsequent appeal to the federal District Court of Maryland met an even stronger rebuff. As a result, when the Supreme Court agreed to review the case, the Southern Railway Company, the ICC, and the United States of America found themselves in the interesting position of co-defendants of segregation. But at this point—much to the distress of the administrators

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of the ICC—the United States, as represented by the Department of Justice, resigned from the partnership. Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman entered a brief not only supporting Henderson but challenging the whole hypocritical doctrine of "separate but equal" treatment for Negroes which for over fifty years has been the chief legal weapon of white supremacists. " 'Separate but equal,' " says Mr. Perlman's brilliant plea, "is as much a contradiction in terms as 'black but white.' " The document then analyzes in great detail the structure of this myth and the true meaning of equality, invoking not only the Constitution and a score of past Supreme Court decisions but the United Nations Charter and the testimony of dozens of anthropologists, sociologists, lawyers, psychologists, and writers with a special interest in Negro problems—men like Gunnar Myrdal, Osmond K. Fraenkel, Robert Weaver, and Thomas Sancton. It is, withal, an imaginative and forthright work, and whether or not it wins Mr. Henderson's case for him, it can already be regarded as marking a turning-point for this nation in its long journey toward full democracy.

*

THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT that investigations conducted by the United States Ambassador to Iraq had not substantiated Israeli reports of widespread arrests of Jews and the confiscation of Jewish property in Iraq was a shocking performance from start to finish. After mentioning the "agitation" against minority groups that has "occasionally" occurred in Near Eastern countries as a result of the Palestine controversy, the State Department simply brushed off the stories of Iraqi persecutions of Jews. "The department," said its spokesman, "has received information that a certain number of Iraqi subjects of Jewish faith have recently been arrested. However, the number was much smaller than had been mentioned in earlier published reports, and the individuals taken into custody are understood to be under charges of having violated specific Iraqi laws." But this ducks the very point at issue. No doubt the Jews disobeyed Iraqi laws, for laws have been adopted which are copies of Hitler's Nürnberg laws, with additions peculiarly Iraqi. In particular, Iraqi Jews are subject to heavy penalties, including prison and even death, for "having relations with Zionists." This the State Department must know. The department complained also that the stories of Jewish ill-treatment came only from Israeli sources. This is curious, since we have ourselves seen first-hand reports recently brought out of Bagdad by a responsible non-Israeli, non-Jewish observer, including case histories and statements by leading members of the Iraqi Jewish community. Instead of accepting the results of Ambassador Crocker's so-called investigation, the department would do better to examine these readily available re-

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ports and then if necessary send neutral observers to the scene. The Israeli charges can hardly be verified by an ambassador who must rely upon official sources for his facts.

*

THE BRIEF-CASE-AND-STRIPED-PANTS LADS OF the State Department have decided that it might be a good idea to beat the columnists and the broadcasters to the punch by giving us all a peek at the mysterious thing we call "Our Foreign Policy." Acting on the suggestions of the Hoover Commission, the regional assistant secretaries of state will try to see that "the policies in their regions are adequately explained to the people of this country through the press, radio, and other mass-information media." A new Public Affairs Policy Advisory Staff has been set up to help in the good work of making public "as much material as possible." While we welcome any step looking to the democratization of what has come to be the most important of our government departments, we feel some misgivings when we come to that condescending "as much material as possible." Are the regional assistant secretaries to decide on what's "possible" and what isn't? Are we to continue to tag along, after a series of faits accomplis have decided matters for good or evil, and have no part in the making of our policy other than that of sideline shouters? While we're on the subject, does anyone in the State Department care to tell us, under this new dispensation, just what our foreign policy is?

"Merdeka!"

THE inevitability of Indonesian independence seems, by hindsight, to have been apparent to everybody. Everybody, that is, except the Dutch, who made two attempts to end the revolution by military action before becoming convinced that they could no longer defy the passionate nationalism of their long-held colonists or the disapproval of world opinion as expressed through the United Nations. Aware at last of the high cost of their intransigence and of the hopelessness of continuing the struggle, the Dutch agreed to meet with the Indonesians in a Round Table Conference which opened at The Hague last August and was successfully concluded on November 2.

At the outset it did not seem possible that any agreement would be reached, so far apart were the two sides on the paramount issues of political sovereignty and economic independence. The Dutch wanted a closely tied constitutional union that would bind both parties under the active leadership of the Queen. The Indonesians were equally insistent on an arrangement as vaguely restrictive as that joining India to the British Commonwealth. Admitting that sovereignty, in some form, would have to be granted to the Indonesians, the Dutch were determined to retain a degree of financial control that would protect their existing investments and preserve for them a large percentage of the vital Indies trade.

There were other important areas of conflict—such as the determination of the size of the debt to be assumed by the Indonesians—on any one of which the conference could have foundered, to be succeeded by a new outbreak of jungle war. But both sides knew with dread certainty that a solution had to be reached: the Dutch were prodded by not too subtle hints from the United States that peace in Southeast Asia was of the utmost importance to American policy, and that stubbornness could foreseeably result in reduction of Marshall Plan aid; the Indonesians knew that failure to reach an agreement would strengthen the hand of extremists within their ranks.

After two and a half months of discussions a quite reasonable Statute of the Netherlands–Indonesian Union has been produced. On paper, at least, the United States of Indonesia has won almost every point. Before this charter can be effective, it must be ratified by the parliaments of the two members of the Union, a task which will involve selling the agreement to the people of Holland and the legislators of Indonesia. While the Dutch government is aware that it must accept the new arrangement, Netherlanders are still nostalgic for the old times when "the spice trade" helped make their standard of living one of the highest on the Continent. Indonesian politics, on the other hand, requires that all Indonesian parties oppose the link of "voluntary and lasting cooperation" embodied in the Queen, along with the Court of Arbitration to settle disputes, the compromise on the debt, and the delay of a year before the last Dutch troops depart. The exclusion of New Guinea from the U. S. of I., a more serious question, is to be the subject of the further conferences in the coming year.

Premier Hatta and his associates are confident, however, that the hurdle of parliamentary approval can be surmounted. They still have one strong reservation about the future arising from their experiences with the Renville and Linggadjati agreements. These were sabotaged, they maintain, by the acts of the Dutch army and of political officials in Indonesia, and they fear a repetition. If the extent of the Dutch concessions is any test, this fear is unfounded.

In apportioning credit for the birth of the new state the United Nations should receive a fair share for its continuing and constructive concern with this explosive situation. The United States, too, deserves praise for the good offices it has lately supplied. But above all, the courage of the Indonesians, who in the face of military and political setbacks pressed firmly onward to the goal of independence—"Merdeka"—deserves remembrance in the chronicles of freedom.

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Dr. Rader's Vindication

IN THE summer of 1948 the Canwell committee investigating "loyalty" at the University of Washington heard George Hewitt, formerly a Communist, today a professional "anti-Communist," swear that Professor Melvin Rader had attended a Communist school at Kingston, New York, during the summer of 1938. Hewitt's identification of Rader was emphatic. Rader made a categorical denial and offered convincing proof that he could not have been in New York at the time stated. The next day the Canwell committee hurriedly shipped Hewitt out of Seattle.

Dr. Rader promptly sought the arrest of Hewitt on a charge of perjury. District Attorney Lloyd Shorett, on the basis of recorded long-distance telephone conversations in which Hewitt reiterated his charges against Rader, and on other evidence, issued a warrant for perjury against Hewitt. Shortly afterward Shorett was appointed to the bench, and Charles O. Carroll became District Attorney.

Great pressure was immediately brought to bear on Mr. Carroll to dismiss the perjury complaint. Two Immigration Service inspectors told him that since Hewitt was to be a star witness in the New York Communist trial, the Department of Justice did not want to see him discredited. Later Carroll was summoned to the office of Edward T. Stone, managing editor of the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*. There, according to Carroll, Stone told him: "We elected one prosecutor, and we can defeat another. We will blast you right out of office if you don't dismiss this case." These and additional instances of pressure were reported in the Seattle press and have not been denied (Seattle *Times*, February 2, 1949; *Post-Intelligencer*, February 3, 1949). Later, in its report to the legislature, the Canwell committee blasted Carroll for his refusal to dismiss the charges.

Argument on Hewitt's extradition was heard by Judge Aaron J. Levy of the Supreme Court of the Bronx, New York, in May, 1949. Judge Levy said that if he were to order Hewitt to return to Washington, he would be sending him "to eventual slaughter." "I am wondering, really genuinely wondering," added the learned jurist, "what the civilization of that area is really like."

Judge Levy's intemperate remarks apparently provoked the Seattle *Daily Times* to undertake an investigation which established beyond all doubt that Dr. Rader had been in Washington during the whole summer of 1948. After reviewing the newspaper's unassailable evidence, President Raymond Allen of the University of Washington invited Albert F. Canwell, former chairman of the Canwell committee, to confer with Dr. Rader and representatives of the Seattle *Daily Times* on October 21. Canwell failed to keep the appointment. President Allen then issued a cautiously worded and perfunctory exoneration: "The university [is now] fully satisfied by the present evidence that Mr. Hewitt's allegations concerning Professor Rader have been disproved."

The Seattle *Daily Times* may take pride in the fact that it has lived up to the finest traditions of the American press. Messrs. Shorett and Carroll may take pride, also, in the fact that they did their duty despite cruel pressure. But there is evidence that perjury has been suborned. Hewitt, who should stand trial for perjury, is not likely to be extradited, since he recently suffered a stroke. Nevertheless, Dr. Rader and his family, after months of anxiety and worry and great expense, now enjoy the satisfaction that always goes with vindication.

A Plan for Jerusalem

THE proposals for Jerusalem drawn up by the United Nations Conciliation Commission are deceptively disarming. Calling for an international regime to administer, under the U. N., an area embracing Jerusalem and Bethlehem and their surroundings, they appear to provide security for the Holy Places located in that area on a basis which favors neither Jews nor Arabs but protects the rights of both. The very word "internationalization" carries soothing connotations which tend to conceal the impracticality and injustice of the entire scheme.

Recognizing these facts, as well as the further disturbing circumstance that the State Department has expressed support of internationalization, a group of Americans representing a wide area of liberal and religious opinion last week addressed a memorandum to the Assembly of the U. N. sharply criticizing the commission's proposals and suggesting a substitute plan. The first section of the memorandum, comprising its "recommendations and comment," appears on page 467 of this issue of *The Nation*. The document as a whole has been circulated among interested groups and individuals. A copy went to the President with a letter requesting that he direct the American delegation to support the plan in the Assembly. Every delegation has received the memorandum, as did Secretary General Lie and key members of the permanent staff. An effort is being made to have the proposal introduced by a delegation as a resolution. It has also been distributed to the press here and abroad and sent to all important church, labor, and liberal associations, organizations concerned with international affairs, members of Congress and the State Department, and other state and federal officials.

The arguments in support of this substitute plan seem to us unanswerable, and we feel that a thorough airing of the issue when it comes up in the Assembly, possibly next week, will reveal the dangerous absurdity of the

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commission's proposal. In fact, once the facts are fully set out, they immediately raise the question: What is behind the internationalization scheme? It is opposed by Israelis and Arabs. It appears to contravene the plain intention of the U. N. trusteeship system. It would load upon the U. N. responsibilities for which it is notoriously unprepared, such as carrying the economic and political burdens of governing subject peoples and policing a disputed area. These and other difficulties cited in the memorandum would be assumed in order to protect and assure access to a handful of so-called Holy Places—the number officially so designated is given as ten—which could better be supervised by the simple, inexpensive, and acceptable methods outlined in the plan. Indeed, the curious fact emerges that under the commission's proposals the actual administration of these official Holy Places would remain in the hands of their present custodians—representatives of three Christian denominations, the Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Armenian Catholic churches.

So, in order to perpetuate an anomalous and inequitable situation, an area of some 100 square miles would be thrust under international control—as a sort of "crown colony" of the U. N.—and the two peoples inhabiting it prevented from becoming part of the nations to which they naturally adhere.

By contrast the plan put forward in the memorandum proposes a U. N. "curatorship"—an excellent term, in our opinion—over *all* Holy Places throughout both the Arab and the Israeli sections of Palestine. It would set up a commission, responsible to the Security Council, representing *all* the major interested religious groups —Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Moslem—to take care of the Holy Places and assure free access to them. It would establish the Jewish and Arab zones in the Jerusalem area and provide that they be officially integrated respectively with Israel and an Arab state.

Opposition to the Conciliation Commission's proposals has arisen in various quarters, but the memorandum summarized in this issue offers the first constructive alternative to be put forward for consideration by the United Nations. Already it has drawn favorable comment from many delegates and officials as well as from informed members of the public. Whether or not it will supplant the unworkable internationalization scheme depends largely on the pressure brought to bear by interested groups. President Truman's whole record on Palestine shows a readiness to accept a just and practical course of action. Before the question comes up in the Assembly, possibly next week, we suggest that readers of *The Nation* who agree with the substitute plan write to the President urging its sponsorship by our delegation. Nothing would do more to assure its success.

Cold-War Mentality

BY BRUCE CATTON

Washington, November 4

IT IS always pleasant to see a civilian official tell off an important military chief, and the Anglo-Saxon tradition of shooting one admiral to encourage the others is fairly ancient. But in this row which has just cost Admiral Louis E. Denfeld his job as Chief of Naval Operations, it would be smart of all the rest of us to stop acting like innocent bystanders and pay a little attention to what is going on.

The first fact we would discover is that we are now a fully militarized nation. Measured by the budget, the Department of National Defense is by far the most important part of our government. It spends fifteen billion dollars a year, and those who spend that kind of money can come very close to saying how the country shall be run. Consequently the three armed services have been competing furiously for top position ever since the war, aided by persons off stage. Each service has been trying to show that it is entitled to be dominant. The trouble is that this competition has largely determined our foreign and domestic policies. It is the source of nearly all the war-scare stories of the last three years—the most vicious talk Americans ever had to listen to.

Here is how it works. Up comes some such question as whether we need a seventy-group air force, a super-aircraft carrier, a revival of selective service. That touches off the competition, and month after month, year after year, we get elaborately publicized demonstrations of our long-range striking power, our ability—and by implication our fixed intent, not to say our dire necessity—to obliterate Russian cities: tall calculations which show how we could beat Russia even if the Red Army overran all Europe.

This propaganda contest among the three services has implied in every line and every overtone that Russia is our enemy and that war is inevitable. Domestic and foreign policies have been proposed, argued, and decided on in the midst of that din. It has been in our ears every time we have tried to cope with the obscene infection of the red scare, every time we have had to make decisions about the way to develop and use atomic energy, every time we have considered the problem of helping to restore world prosperity.

Leave aside, temporarily, the way in which this incessant war talk can be used by persons who have axes to grind—who want to wipe out American liberalism, re-create Germany's heavy-industry nexus, or get the oil from the wells in weak foreign countries. Without

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going into any of those interesting matters, it is clear that democracy cannot hope to operate very long or very well under the domination of military men who conduct their struggle for power with such irresponsibility.

In all this in-fighting the navy has probably sinned less than the other services—not because of superior virtue but simply because Russia is so notoriously non-seagoing. There hasn't been much for an admiral to get his teeth into. But even if it was only by inadvertence, the sailors made a point in the recent Congressional hearings. They held up before our eyes the extremely unpleasant fact that if war comes we are committed to a program of bombing civilians on an incredible scale.

We all remember our instinctive reaction to the Luftwaffe's bombing of Warsaw, Rotterdam, London, Coventry. We were uncertain about many things in those days, but we knew that this was the embodiment of all evil. And if we did the same thing to enemy cities a little later, we had the arid comfort of reflecting that the enemy was getting his own back, that it was he who had unleashed this terror. Now we represent the terror—the force which will burn whole cities and destroy civilians by the scores of thousands. The "bomb" is the keystone of our security arch; our foreign policy rests on it.

Maybe it has to be that way. Maybe the only thing that counts is winning. At least the matter has been brought out into the open where we can look at it while there is still time. We can look at it and at other things —at the whole question of whether our democracy can survive a permanent cold war, whether we are not fated to lose our national soul unless we find some way to throw off the tyranny of purely military values. Secretary Johnson's remedy of knocking military heads together doesn't begin to meet the need. Differing violently on many things, the generals and the admirals and the airmen are agreed on one thing—that fifteen billion dollars annually for defense in these years of peace is not enough for genuine security. Perhaps, however, it is altogether too much for democracy.

Surgery in the C. I. O.

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Cleveland, November 4

IF ANY one oratorical line can be said to have sounded the keynote of this eleventh annual convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, it was Walter Reuther's: ". . . we have come here to cut out the cancer and save the body of the C. I. O." The estimate of the situation may have been extreme, but except for the Communists, who, playing the role of the cancer, had little to say, nearly everyone agreed that the surgery was inevitable. At the same time nobody took the operation lightly, many had misgivings about the way it was performed, and some thought it could have been avoided if the growth had not been carelessly fostered in its early stages.

In a week of speeches the sins of the pro-Communists were thoroughly aired, from Harry Bridges's fatuous war-time proposal to ban strikes for five years following the victory to their recent vilification of Philip Murray. But no one offense—certainly not their opposition to the Marshall Plan or any other political policy—accounted for the feeling against them, which was very real and very deep. What transcended the specific counts in the indictment was the conviction, piled up over the years, that the Communists simply could not be trusted as other men because their loyalty lay elsewhere. Wherever they had had power, they had shown their hand, and they had built up resentments which spilled over once the protective dam had been breached. The dam was Murray, and it was the Communists themselves who had forced the breach by a witless campaign of abuse. Reuther read to the convention some excerpts from a typical pamphlet put out, not by the Communist Party, but by one of the twelve left unions under fire. Of Murray and his administrative aids the pamphlet said: "They stand for Cain and Abel unionism, gangsterism and terror; selling out labor's political freedom . . . the use of the Ku Klux Klan and race baiting; chartering of stool pigeons and company agents."

Too late the Communists realized that by outraging Murray they had written their own travel orders, and their last-minute efforts to placate him would have been pathetic if they had not been so patently disingenuous. In their last private meeting with the C. I. O. president one of the leaders of the United Electrical Workers, the first of the unions to go, said plaintively: "Phil, we never said anything about your union. . . . We have no criticism to make of you." And on the floor Ben Gold, president of the Fur and Leather Workers and an avowed Communist, went so far as to remark: "I can understand why Philip Murray is indignant against the Moscow broadcasts that he sold out labor. I think he has the right to express indignation."

But the Communists' change of tactics, if not of heart, did them no good. Their sudden mildness, their appeals to reason, their perfunctory arguments—all were drowned out in a convention that had assembled with

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this one major piece of business on the agenda. Murray could not have turned back if he had wanted to. Off the floor men dipped into bitter memories. One told me, step by step, how the Communists had captured his union, how his reputation had been systematically wrecked, and how he was now committed to the dubious precept that "you can only fight them with their own rotten tactics." Another asked me if I had ever been thrown out bodily from my own union hall, if I had ever been falsely linked with "fascists," if I had ever seen my work undone at every turn and twisted into a grotesque pattern of sabotage and sell-out.

This was the emotional background of the convention. The day of the great accounting had come. One by one the leaders of the C. I. O. went to the rostrum and laid it on. O. A. Knight, president of the Oil Workers, said he knew of no part of the C. I. O. program "but what will be better off once we have divorced ourselves from these parasites who do not know the difference between C. I. O. unionism and Stalinism." "I have waited for this opportunity for a good many years," said Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers. "I am perfectly willing to give them the type of democracy that they are willing to give me if they were in power." George Baldanzi, of the same union, referred bitterly to the attacks on Murray. "We are only giving you some of your dirty, stinking language in return," he told the beaten relics of the left. And "kindly, tolerant, patient Phil Murray," as the president ironically referred to himself, spoke of his enemies as "skulking cowards," "apostles of hate . . . lying out of the pits of their dirty bellies."

It was not a pretty affair, and I mention these sordid details only to convey some idea of the emotional climate in which the C. I. O. came at last to deal with a problem that had long plagued it. For in the final analysis it was the emotional factor that predominated. This is not to say, of course, that the indictment was lacking in concrete charges. The campaign of slander against the leadership, especially in the midst of the crucial steel strike, might alone have sustained the prosecution. The U. E. clearly violated the mandate of the last convention when it swallowed up the Farm Equipment Workers, who had been ordered to merge with Reuther's automobile union. And only a day before its scheduled expulsion it gave the ouster undeniable validity by serving notice that it would refuse to pay its per capita tax until such time as the C. I. O. conformed to its notions of "free, democratic, industrial unionism." Much more questionable, in the private view of a number of delegates, were the strictly political counts: that the leftist unions opposed the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact and had supported Wallace at the hazard of electing Dewey.

All these accusations, valid and far-fetched alike, were minor compared with the real and overriding factor set forth in the resolution expelling the U. E.: "The C. I. O. is a voluntary association of free trade unions. . . . Free unions are voluntary associations of free men, held together by common loyalties." Speaker after speaker told how the Communists had violated this common loyalty, how their strategies *as trade unionists* shifted this way and that to serve the changing purposes, not of American workers, but of the Communist Party and the Soviet Foreign office. Two groups within the C. I. O.—the ex-Socialists and liberals, like Reuther and Rieve, and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists—had tried to force the issue ever since the end of the war, but Murray had stubbornly held to the role of balance wheel. Now he no longer could or had need to do so. The Communists had foolishly flung the gage at his own feet, they were enormously weakened, and the national feeling against them was powerful. The balance was lost, and what followed here was so inevitable that the proceedings themselves were anti-climactic. Even the vituperation, on both sides, had a mechanical quality, as though the delegates, like Congressmen, were speaking for the record.

Yet for all this sense of inevitability there was also an uneasy spirit at this convention, particularly noticeable in the delegation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Even among the most convinced anti-Communists there was no exultation in triumph. In the first place, the immediate prospect is for civil war in the labor movement, with raiding, violence, and interminable legal squabbling over contracts—all of which should make life easier for anti-union employers. Going deeper, one finds here a fear that by including in the indictment such matters as the Marshall Plan and the Wallace party C. I. O. leaders have set a precedent for suppressing political dissidence in what is, after all, not a political movement. Some delegates privately admitted to doubts about the wisdom of barring from the executive board not only Communist Party members but anyone "who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement" of that party's purposes. The looseness of the wording appeared to invite trouble.

From qualifying remarks made even in the most fiery anti-Communist speeches and from my own talks with C. I. O. leaders, I am certain that they are fully aware of the dangers and that they will use their new powers with discretion and for the purpose intended. The test lies in the more distant future. Once it has put the Communists where they can no longer be a source of disruption and confusion, the C. I. O. will either ignore them and devote itself to its tasks as a liberalizing force in the life of the country or, preoccupied with anti-communism and unrestrained by internal considerations, will allow itself to be pushed steadily to the right. I believe it will take the first of these courses. If not, its "time of troubles" has only begun.

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Health Knows No Frontiers

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, November 4

ONE question before the present session of the Assembly—it was discussed recently in the budget committee—is whether to continue to provide funds for the organizations which have their working headquarters in Geneva. When I was in Geneva last year I interviewed Gunnar Myrdal, secretary general of the Economic Commission of the United Nations, and later in these pages described the admirable work done by that body. During a visit this year I concentrated on the World Health Organization.

More nations belong to the W. H. O. than to the U. N. itself. Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania, which are still excluded from the parent organization, cooperate with the Western powers at Geneva to prevent the spread of epidemics and to improve the world's state of health. Last March, Russia, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine announced that they intended to withdraw and gave three reasons, which were repeated by Dr. Vinograd, Russian Deputy Minister for Health. The policy of the W. H. O., they declared, had not conformed to the directives issued by the Assembly in the previous September, especially in the matter of aid for countries devastated by the war; its administration was too costly; and its staff was numerically overweighted with Americans and British.

I discussed these charges with several men closely associated with the director general of the W. H. O., the distinguished psychiatrist Dr. Brock Chisholm of Canada, who was not at the moment in Geneva. Since 1946 Dr. Chisholm has devoted all his time and energy to the W. H. O. and has tried to make it a truly "world organization," removed from the clashing political interests of the different nations. According to these men, the Russians cooperated with the Americans and British, especially with the former, for two years without any friction: no blocs developed at the meetings; it was never necessary to take a vote. Frequently the views of the Russians and the Americans coincided, since their approach to questions of public health was nearly the same. When a cholera epidemic raged in Egypt in the fall of 1947 and the W. H. O. asked the various governments to send vaccine, Moscow was one of the first to do so.

The W. H. O. has undertaken not only to combat epidemics anywhere in the world but to stamp out those endemic diseases which take their toll of the population in every continent. Whenever a government has asked for aid, or been willing to accept it, the W. H. O. has recruited and sent to the spot international teams of doctors, sanitary engineers, and, in some cases, transportation experts who have made it their first task to check the disease and their second to teach local health officers and the inhabitants themselves how to carry on the work. Much has been accomplished in this way in Yugoslavia, where malaria is a serious concern of the medical authorities.

In spite of its limited budget—only $7,000,000 this year—the W. H. O. has lent its services to every country that has applied to it. Poland's and Czechoslovakia's requests for aid were granted immediately. Russia has never asked for help, and the officials with whom I talked were therefore unable to understand why it complained on this score.

The charge that administrative expenses were excessive was denied at Geneva as it was at the meeting of the organization in Rome, where a Swedish financial expert testified that the W. H. O.'s management of U. N. funds could serve as a model for all the other U. N. agencies.

With respect to the third point, the United States has admittedly greater representation on the W. H. O. than any other country, as it has on all U. N. organizations, but in this case a good excuse is provided by the large number of American public-health experts.

The director is still trying to get the Russians to return. Most people at the Geneva headquarters agreed that unless they did, the organization's effectiveness would be appreciably curtailed. The W. H. O. can fulfil its mission only by being universal. "Everyone must join in the war against disease," one delegate said to me, "or there will be no victory." If isolation is no longer practical as a foreign policy, it is even more outworn as a health measure. The old quarantine regulations have ceased to be effective. Indeed, the health of a people can be best assured, not by defensive action against other nations, but by common action in the interest of all. It was through the cooperation of all countries that the cholera epidemic in Egypt was checked so quickly. When some cases of typhus were discovered in Afghanistan early this summer, quick action by the W. H. O. limited the infection to a small area.

Tuberculosis is prevalent wherever the standard of living falls below a certain minimum and must be attacked by economic and social measures. Besides these, the world-wide practice of inoculation, which would be possible only if all countries participated in the W. H. O., can be expected to help eliminate this killer number one.

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A new inoculation technique is being perfected by the Scandinavians (I confirmed this when I visited the Södersjukuset Hospital in Stockholm, of which I wrote on October 22), and this year, through the collaboration of the Swedish Red Cross, it will be used on fifteen million European children.

Many diseases which still kill or incapacitate millions of persons every year should have been wiped out long ago, among them malaria. Panama has got rid of it, through the excellent measures undertaken by the American authorities of the Canal Zone. It would pay India to do so, for the people are so weakened by it that the production of food is diminished and the masses are kept on the verge of starvation. At the Rome meeting of the W. H. O. it was said that malaria could be eliminated from the world by the expenditure of from five to six million dollars. Reduction of the incidence of venereal diseases to insignificant proportions is also only a matter of dollars.

Among the numerous praiseworthy undertakings of the W. H. O. a new program for the improvement of the world's mental health deserves special mention. The program calls for surveys to determine the extent of mental illness throughout the world and provides for fifty six-month fellowships to train doctors in new psychiatric techniques. The study of cultural patterns may also be included, with a view to bettering the emotional development of children.

The W. H. O. makes use of every modern facility in its campaign against disease. A radio section broadcasts once and sometimes twice a day to keep health authorities informed about conditions throughout the world. For instance, when I was in Geneva some cases of infantile paralysis were discovered in Bombay. Immediately the news was broadcast to neighboring countries so that they could take the necessary precautions.

The people who work in the W. H. O. are convinced that no country has an excuse for not making full use of every new scientific discovery, every new technique in medicine, as a weapon against disease. Twenty years ago there might have been some excuse, but not today. The thinking of these men is conditioned by the era in which they live, the atomic era with its possibilities of unlimited progress, but instead of concentrating on means of killing the healthy, on the atomic bomb and B-36's, they are trying to save and cure the sick.

Tito's Fifth International

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

II. Yugoslavia's Balance Sheet

Belgrade, October 31

FIRST of all, a few words about the latest story turned out by the Vienna rumor factory. In December, it is said, Vishinsky will address a solemn warning to the Western powers—"Hands off the Balkans!" Thereupon Hungarian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, and Albanian troops will invade Yugoslavia and set up a Cominform government, after which the war in Yugoslavia will become "almost" a purely Yugoslav affair. The weakness of this story lies in the two facts that the Yugoslavs have a large army, estimated by Western observers at 500,000 to 600,000 and by the Cominform journal at 800,000, which, though not particularly well armed, can cope with the Hungarians and Bulgars, and that Albanian and Rumanian troops could in no case be relied upon to fight the Yugoslavs. Attempts to encourage Rumanian nationalist claims on portions of Yugoslav territory have been a complete failure, and Albania is in a state bordering on chaos.

The Soviets could overrun Yugoslavia only by using Russian, and nothing but Russian, troops. The appearance of the Red Army, which still enjoys much of its old prestige, as a "liberating" force would inevitably cause mental confusion in part of the Yugoslav army. The Russians, moreover, would be much better equipped than the Yugoslavs, and the invasion would be preceded and accompanied by a most intensive propaganda campaign. In Belgrade an invasion by the Red Army itself is considered the only danger in the immediate future; Tito's apprehensions on this score are clear from his latest warning that "an invasion of Yugoslavia will unleash World War III."

One wonders whether it would. Would Britain and America embark upon the desperate gamble of an atomic war against Russia because of Yugoslavia? Would not another "Munich" be more likely? A "Munich," however, would bring World War III terribly near—just as in 1938-39. So unless the Russians are prepared to risk a world war within a year or two, they will probably not invade Yugoslavia, even though that seems at present the only way to get rid of Tito.

Although there may be a good deal of discontent in Yugoslavia, it is not, in the main, the kind of discontent that looks to Russia for a solution. If the Russians were to set up a Cominform government in Yugoslavia by force, thousands of opportunists and plain ordinary citi-

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zens would doubtless back the winner, just as there were thousands who served the Nedich regime and other quisling governments in Yugoslavia during the war. But a spontaneous pro-Cominform rising inside the country is by far the most improbable of all the things that could happen. And this the Russians know.

THE Western powers conclude, therefore, that we shall have a Tito Yugoslavia for a good long time. This view is evidently shared by the curious assortment of business men from the West one sees in the restaurant of the Hotel Majestic in Belgrade, trying to sell jeeps to the Yugoslav army or offering to equip a new rolling mill scheduled under the Five-Year Plan; and by the sinister-looking figures, heroes of spectacular Central European bank crashes of the early thirties, who are now in Belgrade discussing or hoping to discuss mysterious bank credits with the Yugoslav rulers. A lot of the business these men do is purely speculative, short-term—make a quick profit and never mind what happens to Tito later. But some of it is serious business, based on three-, four-, and five-year contracts.

Though hard-pressed, the Yugoslavs are tough, often pigheaded bargainers, as the British Board of Trade, which has been negotiating a five-year trade agreement with them for the past seven months, knows only too well. A credit of £13,000,000 dangled before them will not make them eat out of anybody's hand. By and large, Yugoslav policy in relation to the West is to get the largest possible credits without submitting to any political conditions. So far they have received a credit of $20,000,000. They have asked for a further series of credits of $250,000,000 from the International Bank, of which they will probably get a first instalment of $25,000,000, with perhaps more to follow—that is not certain. For the rest of what they need they are relying on an increasing volume of trade with the West and on deals with private banks and firms. They also hope to train some technical personnel in the West and to import specialists and skilled labor, chiefly from Italy. Many of these plans are still very vague, and one gets the impression that the Yugoslavs, despite their numerous difficulties, do not want to seem in a desperate hurry to become in any sense part of the Western world. They are reluctant to admit that the change-over from East to West involves any serious revision of their Five-Year Plan. Yet the revision taking place is actually along the lines of the change which drew Cominform criticism.

The question that confronts the West is whether Yugoslavia is a sound economic proposition, and the answer, in the main, is yes. But everybody—including the Yugoslav leaders, though they do not like to admit it—agrees that the 1947 Five-Year Plan was over-ambitious. It provided for the creation of a new oil industry with an output of nearly half a million tons of crude oil in 1951; the trebling of the iron and steel output of 1939, thus making the target for steel 750,000 tons; the quadrupling of electric power; a sixfold increase in the output of lead to 65,000 tons; similar increases in zinc and aluminum. In addition, many brand-new industries were to be created—locomotives, automobiles, bicycles, steam boilers, typewriters, a great new film industry, tires, prefabricated houses, and so on, almost ad infinitum. A huge expansion of the chemical industry was planned, and the production of building materials, newsprint, and textiles was to be raised several hundred or even several thousand per cent above the pre-war level.

MOST of these figures have become academic now, but the important fact remains that if there is no invasion and if the West gives some help, Yugoslavia will not collapse economically. In the opinion of many Western experts it may well become a fairly prosperous country in two years. It has far greater possibilities of industrial development than Bulgaria, Hungary, or even Rumania. While there have been numerous disastrous miscalculations, to suggest that nothing has been achieved in the last three years is nonsense. The post-war reconstruction of roads, railways, and bridges has been impressive; there has been a large-scale development of modern housing in cities like Skoplje and Sarajevo; hundreds of towns and villages have been rebuilt in the war-devastated areas; many new factories of varying degrees of efficiency have been set up. The condition of the valuable copper, lead, zinc, bauxite, and other mines is considered by experts to be remarkably satisfactory, and their output largely enables Yugoslavia to maintain its export trade. Electrification has made good progress, though not on the scale foreseen by the Five-Year Plan. A major difficulty is transport, and here undoubtedly the Eastern blockade has had a serious effect, for Czechoslovakia, as I said in a previous article, has refused to provide spare parts for the lorries previously sold to the Yugoslavs. The railways, though very short of locomotives, have more freight cars than is commonly supposed, and foreign trade is fairly efficiently organized as regards transport and port facilities.

One of Yugoslavia's difficulties is, of course, the shortage of foreign exchange; its annual adverse trade balance is estimated to be round $50,000,000. Belgrade believes that it should be possible to find credits to cover this deficit, but the West is in a quandary about whether Tito should be helped or not. One reason why Tito would rather deal with the West than with the East is that he sees in "progressive" and "liberal" opinion in the West a certain safeguard against being blackmailed and ruthlessly dictated to by the capitalist "bloodsuckers." This largely explains the great eagerness of the Yugoslavs to cultivate non-Communist left-wing opinion in the West.

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Yugoslav leaders are gradually beginning to admit though still very reluctantly, that some revision in their earlier plans has become inevitable; the enthusiasm of Western visitors for the Zagreb fair has not been without effect. "C'est magnifique, mais c'est idiot," one French visitor said about the great display of Yugoslav "prototypes"—of tractors, cars, elaborate machine tools, and what not. The production of these prototypes has absorbed a large proportion of the most highly skilled labor in the country, but they remain prototypes for all that, and there is little prospect of their mass production in any foreseeable future. The fair was, of course, a great fillip to Yugoslav pride, but fun is fun, and now the Yugoslavs are beginning to think rather less of prestige achievements and more of practical possibilities.

The problem is how to use labor more productively. So far progress has been due to strength with the pick and shovel and to enthusiasm, much as in Russia during the First Five-Year Plan. With enthusiasm now clearly on the wane, the Yugoslavs realize that greater technical efficiency must take its place. This is a slow process, however, which can only be speeded up by the acquisition of foreign machinery. Many of the more ambitious schemes of industrialization will have to be shelved; in the oil industry, for example, wells have had to be sealed up simply because the equipment for constructing storage facilities was lacking.

Unquestionably the country is advancing, though more slowly than the Five-Year Plan reckoned. Agriculture has been collectivized nearly 25 per cent, and in spite of some serious resistance from the peasantry, especially in Croatia, the food situation, after the first good harvest Yugoslavia has had in five years, is not disastrous. It promises to improve in the next year or so, partly through the development of state farms around large cities like Belgrade and Zagreb and the growth of the pig farms set up last year after the somewhat arbitrary confiscation of "kulaks' surplus pigs."

Yugoslavia's political future is hard to foretell. It may remain merely an anomaly—a Communist country becoming increasingly "marshallized"; or it may become a major revolutionary force that will have the most serious repercussions in all the Eastern countries and finally undermine Moscow. Some Westerners, rather given to wishful thinking, believe that Yugoslavia will manage to combine a Socialist economy with a considerable degree of Western civil liberty. So far, there is no evidence of that. While there is plenty of free, almost seditious talk to be heard in the cafes of Zagreb, one might say the same of Warsaw; so that proves nothing. To the question often asked by Westerners whether Yugoslavia is a police state and how many people are in concentration camps, all I can reply is this: of course Yugoslavia is a police state, and heaven help Tito if it were not. But is it as "terrorist" as Vishinsky claimed at the U. N.? All I know is that a considerable number of people are in prison or in "labor camps"; how many, nobody from outside can tell. My guess is that the number runs into tens of thousands but not into hundreds of thousands.

Yugoslavia is different from Russia in that a very large number of people have been in jail or in a labor

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camp at one time or another but are back in circulation again. As one anti-Tito Yugoslav remarked to me, "The one great advantage we have over Russia is that we have no Siberia; so people do not as a rule *disappear;* there is not much point, except in some special cases, in keeping people locked up indefinitely." What does, however, happen very often is that recalcitrant peasants, or "spivs," or Cominformists (these are not believed to number more than a few thousand), or idle ex-bourgeois are sent to a camp, for the good of their soul, for six months or a year and then allowed to go home. It isn't nice, but on the whole it doesn't seem as bad as the things that happen in some other places. As Balkan regimes go, Tito's is fairly humane, probably more so than most of those known in the past—which is, of course, not saying much.

Mankind Need Not Starve

By EARL PARKER HANSON

THE fine start that United States conservation officials have made during the past fifteen years toward halting the criminal waste of our resources has had a tremendous influence on American thinking. No sane man today would either oppose or deride conservation as such. Moreover, sobered by several current books and enlightened by the recent United Nations conference on the subject, Americans are now turning their attention to the problem of a better *worldwide* stewardship of expendable resources. They have divided on this subject as on so many others into the two camps of optimists and pessimists. In conservation circles this division has become very sharp. The issue can perhaps be expressed as follows: Must we make hysterical efforts to conserve our resources in order to stave off imminent doom, as a stranded party of explorers might ration its dwindling food supplies, or can we do the job sanely, by making the most of what we have and can attain to and integrating our efforts with man's steady progress toward a more abundant life?

The emotional tension over this question has become so great in some scientific circles that anybody who denies that the world is in danger of coming to an early end through the exhaustion of its resources is immediately accused of being against conservation. I am therefore impelled to state, at the very beginning of this article, that I am one hundred per cent for conservation *plus much more*, that only a lunatic would oppose worldwide efforts to strike a working balance between growing populations and the resources sustaining them. On the other hand, I do *not* believe the world to be on the brink of destruction through starvation, and I wouldn't say so if I did, because pessimism mounting toward hysteria can itself prevent us from handling sanely this vital problem.

Fear of the depletion of the world's resources is not the only one that agitates mankind today. More amorphous but also more oppressive fears are generated by the advent of atomic energy, the possibility of World War III, the breakdown of colonialism all over the world, and the rising discontent of the colored races. This cult of fear is perhaps more widespread and is displayed with more emotional fireworks in the United States than in any other country. It is fanned by a recognizable group of Jeremiahs, among whom William Vogt is outstanding. Vogt's recent book, "The Road to Survival," will undoubtedly go down in history as one of the important books of our day, not because it is sound, but for exactly the opposite reason—that it is an adequate expression of the day's hysteria.

Vogt's central theme is that of Robert Thomas Malthus, whom he cites as having warned, in 1798, "that man's population tends to outstrip his food supply." Reinforcing this tendency, Vogt says, and so hastening the day of doom, is modern man's habit of wasting natural resources. That disaster is nearer than we think is implied by hysterical exhortations throughout the book and is shouted by the resounding last sentence. Unless we now understand ecological problems as Vogt propounds them and take immediate steps toward "the control of population and the restoration of resources . . . we may as well give up all hope of continuing civilized life. Like Gadarene swine, we shall rush down a wartorn slope to a barbarian existence in the blackened rubble." Thus phrased, the argument is as irrefutable as the solution of a simple problem in geometry. Its effectiveness, however, is greatly diminished by the fact that there seems, by Vogt's reasoning, to be no practical way of avoiding the danger in the real world of racial tensions, class struggles, and conflicting opinions. As soon as the first emotional stimulus of his warning has worn off, we are likely to say, "O. K., we need birth control and conservation on a worldwide scale. What do we do next?"

The problem becomes more complex when we realize that, according to Vogt, the main burden of birth control and conservation, for the purpose of continuing civilized life, must be borne by—or imposed upon,

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which is something entirely different—people with living standards so low that they *have* no civilized life in the material sense. In the United States, with the world's highest standard of living, population is leveling off and conservation is making an excellent start. It is the Chinese, the Hindus, the Africans, the Latin Americans, the spawning millions of backward countries, who must now have fewer children and conserve their dwindling resources—so that *we* may maintain our standard of living. Thus the book's main argument, though Vogt himself may be unaware of its implications, comes dangerously close to being another agonized cry about the rising tide of color, this time dressed up in scientific verbiage.

IN DEALING with the various causes for the current unbalance between resources and the needs of growing populations, Vogt limits himself to mechanistic factors and does not touch on such socio-economic forces as colonialism, with its insatiable demand for an abundant supply of labor with a low standard of living. Indeed, he insists that we must "stop blaming economic systems." He has plenty to say, however, about the "dangerous" doctors who strive to keep people alive, and "whose refusal to consider their responsibility in these matters does not seem to them to compromise their intellectual integrity." He takes many passing swipes, too, at the steel ax and the steel plow, which hastened the depletion of our resources. And he sneers at John Rolfe's development of a process for the drying and commercial exploitation of tobacco as a "brainstorm," because the resulting frenzied planting of tobacco as almost the sole cash-export crop led to much soil depletion in Virginia. He even decries, on the ground that sleeping sickness tends to keep down populations, modern efforts to eradicate the tsetse fly, which, if successful, will immeasurably increase the productivity of millions of acres of African land. Indeed, he shows so astonishing a tendency to resent all progress—medical, technological, and industrial—that the thoughtful reader can only assume that he laments Adam and Eve's departure from the Garden of Eden.

In pointing out that all human sustenance must eventually come from the land, Vogt is entirely correct—except for the fact that the sea has a virtually limitless sustenance capacity which can be developed through scientific research. To give two examples: scientists in a state which must remain nameless because it also has a dairy industry have made excellent butter from seaweed, and at least one project to produce proteins from algae and yeast is today a working reality. But more important than the varying "carrying capacities" of land is what man is able to do with the land—and the sea. Here Vogt is so busy screaming about waste and erosion that he seems to forget the other side of the coin. Rivers ran red to the sea long before man came along to hasten the process. Erosion created the fertile

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Mississippi Delta from Cairo down, the equally fertile Nile and Amazon flood plains, the rich meadows in the New England valleys, and innumerable other agricultural areas. Moreover, man has not only depleted the land; through technological advances, going hand in hand with social progress, he has also succeeded in making the land produce more and more and in living on land previously considered "waste," as for instance the "Great American Desert."

Because nobody can foresee the end of technological advances, nobody can predict the Malthusian end of civilization. Dr. Harold G. Moulton, president of the Brookings Institution and author of "Controlling Factors in Economic Development," sees nothing to fear in a possible rise of the population of the United States to 300,000,000, since the cultivation of land now idle and considered worthless, the better utilization of land now in production, and exploration of the sea's limitless resources promise to enable food production to keep pace with the very population growth that these same technological advances have helped to bring about. Indeed, he implies that the 300,000,000 Americans of the future may have a higher standard of living than is enjoyed by the half that number of the present.

SUCH neo-Malthusians as Vogt seem totally unaware of the basic principle that it is never a land that is overpopulated in terms of inhabitants per square mile; it is always an economy, in terms of inhabitants per square meal. A given square mile of land can be overpopulated by five men who live by hunting, by ten nomadic herdsmen, by fifty farmers isolated from the rest of the world, though it may well be lamentably underpopulated by seventy-five farmers who live by the complex ways of modern society. To judge by its current low standard of living, Brazil is today woefully overpopulated with 40,000,000 inhabitants. But to raise its standard of living, Brazil must diversify its economy, must industrialize, and for that it is so definitely underpopulated that the shortage of labor is one of the chief obstacles to real modernization. The Malthusian doctrine that man's population tends to outstrip his food supply is invalidated by the fact that man's technology and social organization tend to keep pace with his population growth, granting certain inevitable lags that cause temporary distress. To date, however, the institution of colonialism, operating in Africa, Asia, and Latin Amer-

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ica, has prevented the full application of available technical and social advances, and has so tended to upset the balance.

As overpopulation once prompted the voyages of exploration of Columbus and Magellan, so it prompts the modern reexamination of those old ideas about climate and race that have blocked man's expansion in many areas of the globe. Vast, new geographical frontiers are now actually in process of being opened. There is the Amazon basin, almost as large as the United States; there is Alaska, one-fifth as large as the United States, richer in resources than any single fifth, and with a total population that wouldn't fill the Rose Bowl. By picking his scholars Vogt can line up much academic support for his apparent dismissal of these possibilities; by picking others, such as Alfred Brooks and Stefansson on Alaska and the UNESCO Hylean Institute on the Amazon, we can prove exactly the opposite. The important fact is that the opening up of these regions is actually under way, regardless of what scholars may say.

In the more crowded underdeveloped regions we see another important modern trend. Britain's Colonial Welfare and Development Acts of 1940 and 1945, France's announced readiness to abolish the principle of trusteeship, Point Four of Truman's inaugural speech—all forecast the abolition or drastic modification of the complex political, social, and economic institution called colonialism. The result will be increased productiveness and higher standards of living in many areas. Since no country with sufficient production and means of distribution to support high living standards can be considered overpopulated no matter how many inhabitants it has, this movement is an effective attack on the problem. Fortunately, the accompanying worldwide trend toward industrialization is also a trend toward conservation. For conservation, as we know and preach it, is possible only in a developed country which enjoys such fruits of industrialization as organization, a national budget, technical know-how, educational facilities, machinery, and gasoline.

But Vogt seems to be against industrialization. As far as I can make out from his incoherent chapter on Industrial Man—the Great Illusion, he dismisses it as a road to survival because it does not solve all problems for all time and, like every other new human institution, upsets the momentary status quo and creates evils of its own. About Puerto Rico and its high birth rate he writes that "industrialization would help . . . for a time, at the expense of continental workers with a higher living standard, but unless the senseless proliferation can be checked, no substantial improvement can be expected. Puerto Rico is driving straight down the Chinese and Indian road, at a speed that is Asiatic."

The phrase "at the expense of continental workers with a higher living standard," is a curious return to the mercantilistic policies that so long prevented the development of America. It implies that efforts to increase production in one country, or continent, can be made only at the expense of another. The industrialization of the American colonies, for instance, was long regarded as a threat to England. Actually the American Revolution and the consequent industrialization of the United States, by providing a tremendous outlet for British capital, goods, and technology, contributed at least as much as India to produce Britain's glittering Victorian Age.

TO PREACH conservation of resources to El Salvador and China, as Vogt does, without at the same time being willing to bring to those countries the industrialization that would make conservation possible, is to cry in a wilderness of political and economic confusion. That birth control is bound up with industrialization seems to be realized vaguely by Vogt, though he shows no awareness that the modern Puerto Rican drive for birth control is part of the tremendous renaissance effected by Muñoz Marín, under whom Puerto Rican standards of living are being raised through industrialization, the drastic modification of economic colonialism, and the educational and other measures made possible by the first two developments.

We must ask ourselves whether worldwide birth control will be possible unless those improved standards of living which have made it possible and desirable in countries like France and the United States also become worldwide. We have seen in our own South and during our pioneer times that in argricultural areas where most of the work is done by hand a family of ten or twelve is an effective working group and economic unit. Children are needed as cheap labor if the family is to survive. They may eat too much, they may sicken and die, but they are still needed, as in China and India, to glean the last stalks of the harvest from the fields and do much of the other unskilled labor. They are also needed, though perhaps less urgently, in mill towns where wages are so low that children must be put to work to eke out the family budget. When parents begin to worry about sending their children to college, they also begin to think realistically about having fewer. Neither Vogt nor anybody else has yet devised any social-political-technical means by which birth-control propaganda can be made effective among

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people who have an abysmally low standard of living.

Vogt nowhere indicates the slightest intention of asking the Chinese, Puerto Ricans, Indians, or Africans what they may think about the matter. Indeed, throughout his book he implies that those people are so beset by superstitions, so backward in scientific and technological matters, that they are unable to help themselves and must have their conservation and birth control rammed down their throats. In one place, to be sure, he says that birth control must be chosen voluntarily, but in another he advocates withholding all aid unless that voluntary choice is made. He seems to think, for instance, that the Chinese are grimly determined to cling to ways of life that offer them nothing but misery and starvation. Mao Tse-tung, however, thinks otherwise, and events are proving him correct. The Chinese people, and the Indians and the Africans, are probably no different from Europeans and Americans in wanting the things that industrial development can give them. When they get those things, they will begin to want conservation and birth control. Vogt disregards this fact and demands that the Chinese practice conservation and birth control right away, willy nilly, if only to protect our American standard of living.

Perhaps the most alarming thing about Vogt is the way he has been taken up and applauded by many scientists and scholars. His backers, while by no means in a majority, have made a great effort to sell him and his bill of goods to the public. In doing so they have created an atmosphere of hysteria which tends to undermine public faith in the powers of science. Actually, the extent to which Vogt represents science indicates also the extent of science's bankruptcy in the face of pressing modern problems.

The Problem of the Holy Places

PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CURATORSHIP

[*On November 2 fifteen leaders of religious, labor, and liberal opinion in America presented to the U. N. Assembly a memorandum proposing a constructive solution for the problem of Jerusalem. The first section of this memorandum, offered as a substitute for the U. N. Conciliation Commission's proposals concerning the Holy Places, appears below.* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

THE United Nations, at its present session, is called upon to consider the problem of Jerusalem. The Assembly has before it a proposal from its Conciliation Commission for the establishment of a permanent international regime for an area of 100 square miles encompassing Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

The solution ultimately agreed upon must meet the following tests: Will it preserve peace? Will it advance the interests of the peoples who inhabit this area? Will it preserve the Holy Places? Can it be carried out?

The argument that the proposed internationalization of the Jerusalem area is in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1947 should not be regarded as decisive. Since 1947 much has happened in this area. Not the theoretical aspects of the situation as it appeared in 1947 but the realities of the present day must determine the solution. This has been recognized by the United Nations Trusteeship Council, which in April, 1948, dropped its own draft statute on internationalization because it realized that it had become obsolete.

The existence of the state of Israel was authorized by the General Assembly's resolution. When attempts were made to frustrate the resolution, the Jews of Palestine, lacking assistance from any U. N. body, were compelled to carry it out themselves. In the two years since that resolution was adopted, nothing has been done by the U. N. to bring about the creation of an Arab state in accordance with the Assembly's directive. The insistence on the internationalization of Jerusalem, when none of the other parts of the U. N. resolution have been implemented by U. N. action, seems out of balance.

These facts would not in themselves be conclusive if the proposals of the United Nations Conciliation Commission were just, practical, and capable of achieving their purpose. An examination of these proposals, however, leads to the inescapable conclusion that they contravene the Charter, must inevitably create new dissensions, and would sacrifice the interests of the inhabitants without insuring peace for the area or protection for the Holy Places.

A new group of "displaced persons," namely, the population of the Jerusalem area, numbering some 130,000, is to be created in order to assure free access to ten Holy Places—seven Christian (four in Jerusalem and three in Bethlehem), one Moslem, and two Jewish —all in territory held by the Arabs.

Any person domiciled in Jerusalem becomes simply a resident of a Jewish zone or an Arab zone, without citizenship of any kind. The welfare of the two communities is ignored. No plan is offered for establishing the essential conditions for self-sustaining communities.

Moreover, as both Jews and Arabs have already in-

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dicated that the proposals are not acceptable to them, the United Nations would be compelled to impose them. For this the United Nations would require both an army and an administrative force of considerable size. This is the view of the powers that were previously the most ardent advocates of internationalization, and particularly of the British Foreign Office. Has the United Nations the authority to impose a decision of this nature? Assuming that it has or would be granted it, has the United Nations access to the armed forces, the administrative staff, and the funds which would be necessary?

The Security Council is the enforcement agency of the United Nations. Up to now, in relation to the Palestine question, it has held that it has no power to implement a political decision. On that score it failed to implement the November, 1947, resolution in any of its parts. It did not establish an international force even when the U. N. Palestine Commission informed it that "the only way of implementing the plan of partition as it has been envisaged by the Assembly consists of providing for assistance by non-Palestinian military forces available, not in some symbolic form, but in effective, adequate strength."

The partition resolution, recommending two independent states, was clearly in conformity with the Charter. The Conciliation Commission's proposal, setting up a permanent dependency of the U. N., as clearly is not. The Security Council, which refused to impose the resolution of 1947 by armed force, is hardly in a position to attempt to impose the Conciliation Commission's plan.

A United Nations Commission as Curator

But there is a simple way of insuring the protection and preservation of the Holy Places and at the same time permitting the normal and peaceful development of the Jewish and Arab communities of the Jerusalem area. That plan we submit for consideration. We propose:

1. The establishment of an international curatorship for the Holy Places throughout Palestine, to be discharged by a U. N. Commission composed of representatives of the Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Greek Orthodox, and Moslem faiths.

The function of such a commission would be (a) to authenticate the holy sites in Palestine; (b) to be responsible for their preservation; (c) to insure free access to them at all times; (d) to supervise the restoration of such holy sites, if any, as have been damaged in the Palestine war.

Pending the authentication of the Holy Places, the status quo of May 14, 1948, shall be observed. This means that the following sites, designated as holy under the Turkish edict of 1757, so recognized by the British during the entire period of the Mandate, and now accepted by the Conciliation Commission, shall be regarded as Holy Places:

Christian Holy Places: the Holy Sepulcher, Deir el Sulan, the Sanctuary of the Ascension, the Tomb of the Virgin, the Church of the Nativity, the Grotto, the Shepherds' Fields.

Moslem Holy Places: the Mosque of Omar.

Jewish Holy Places: the Wailing Wall, Rachel's Tomb.

The International Commission shall have the power to employ guards. It shall be responsible to the Security Council.

2. The establishment of two zones in the Jerusalem area: (a) a Jewish zone comprising those sections in which Jews now live and have lived since 1860, to be integrated with the Jewish state; (b) an Arab zone comprising the areas in which Arabs now live and have lived since 1860, to be integrated with an Arab state.

The recognition of Arab and Jewish zones would merely give legality to actuality. The Old City of Jerusalem is completely an Arab zone. Behind its walls live some 30,000 Arabs, virtually the entire Arab population. Since the surrender of the Jewish quarter on May 28, 1948, not a single Jew remains in the Old City, where Jews had lived for twenty-five centuries.

A hundred thousand Jews live in the eighty-nine-year-old New City of Jerusalem, the building of which was initiated by the Jews in 1860 and the development of which since then has been largely the result of Jewish efforts and funds. The entire Arab population of the New City of Jerusalem numbers between 500 and 1,000 persons.

The integration of the Arab zone with an Arab state and of the Jewish zone with Israel is the only way to insure the survival and the progress of the two communities.

Neither community is intrinsically self-sustaining. Under the Mandate the Arabs were the special concern of the mandatory power, which expended considerable sums on Arab educational and health services and on modernizing agricultural methods. The funds used were derived from taxes, to which the Jewish population contributed 65 per cent. Jerusalem, moreover, as the seat of the mandatory power, provided employment to considerable numbers of Arabs.

For the Arab population internationalization, with its so-called autonomy, spells distintegration. No substitute for the contributions of the mandatory power has been arranged. The Arab community, not yet self-sustaining, has been able in the past year to raise a budget of less than £30,000. Thus the local Arab authorities have been unable to maintain educational and health services or insure employment. The result is that disease and poverty are on the increase. Only integration with a state responsible for its welfare can save the Arab population of the Old City from disaster.

Under the Mandate the economic progress of Jewish

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Jerusalem was made possible by the fact that it was the home of the central Jewish authorities, which created employment; by the money derived from tourist traffic; and by the receipt of Jewish funds from abroad contributed directly to various institutions.

Today the government of Israel has assumed the responsibility for the welfare of the New City. Saved during the war by Israeli efforts, the Jewish community owes its rehabilitation to the Israeli government and people. The government has assumed the responsibility for repairing war devastation, creating employment, establishing industry, providing an essential public-works program, assuring security. The Israeli government's supplement to the municipal budget of I£1,500,000 exceeds I£2,000,000.

Today Jewish Jerusalem, the New City, is an organic part of the Jewish state. What the Israeli government is doing for Jewish Jerusalem, the Jews of that community cannot do for themselves and the U. N. cannot hope to do.

Only a plan acceptable to both peoples has a chance of being effective. Our proposal is likely to find such acceptance. What is equally significant, it would satisfy the essential purposes of the United Nations, since it offers protection to the Holy Places, their preservation, and access to them, not only in the Jerusalem area but throughout Arab and Jewish territories. It removes the Holy Places from factional disputes. It establishes an effective deterrent to desecration. At the same time it assures that the two communities shall be enabled to develop normally and in freedom.

A United Nations supervisory commission with the power to employ guards to protect and insure access to the Holy Places, had it been in existence at the outbreak of the war in Palestine, might have made much more difficult, if not impossible, the seizure and use of religious sites for military purposes.

A United Nations commission, representing the principal faiths and backed by the Security Council, is the best possible safeguard against depredation. For any breach of the agreements respecting the Holy Places could thus automatically invoke the action of the Security Council. That in itself would serve as a potent deterrent.

By permitting the integration of the Arab and Jewish zones with a Jewish state and an Arab state, the United Nations would put responsibility for the well-being of 130,000 human beings where it belongs. This is a responsibility which the United Nations is in no position to discharge but which none the less must be discharged.

UNSCOP, in its report to the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947, declared:

> The basic premise underlying the partition proposal is that the claims to Palestine of the Arabs and Jews, both possessing validity, are irreconcilable, and that among all the solutions advanced, partition will provide the most realistic and practicable settlement and is the most likely to afford a workable basis for meeting in part the claims and national aspirations of both parties. . . . Every other proposed solution would tend to induce the two parties to seek modification in their favor by means of persistent pressure. The grant of independence to both states, however, would remove the basis for such efforts.

With this premise the General Assembly agreed when it adopted the partition resolution of November, 1947. The same principle applies with respect to the two sections of Jerusalem, which were and are integral parts of the area known as Palestine.

The state of Israel is in existence. That is an irrevocable fact. Israel is a full-fledged member of the United Nations. That, too, is an irrevocable fact as long as that state fulfils the conditions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The settlement of the Jerusalem question along lines which reflect the realities of the situation will go far toward resolving the problems which still remain. Arabs and Jews, living side by side in a peaceful Jerusalem, can do more to hasten peace between Israel and the Arab world than any fiat of an international body. The fact is that Arabs and Jews, left to themselves, have for decades lived in peace with each other. Encouraged to resume normal relations by a plan such as is here proposed, self-interest will dictate cooperation and amicable relations.

It is not in the interests of the United Nations to support a proposal which, even if adopted, will remain one of record and not of fact. The plan submitted by the signatories is feasible, is certain to lay the foundations for peace in the Jerusalem area, and, if adopted, will redound to the everlasting prestige of the United Nations.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY A. ATKINSON, Secretary Church Peace Union; DONALD B. CLOWARD, Executive Secretary Northern Baptist Convention; BARTLEY C. CRUM, Member Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry; DALE DEWITT, Regional Director Unitarian Association; FREDERICK MAY ELIOT, President American Unitarian Association; WILLIAM EMERSON, President American Association for the United Nations; HENRY W. HOBSON, Episcopal Bishop of Southern Ohio; FREDA KIRCHWEY, President The Nation Associates; ARTHUR CUSHMAN MC GIFFERT, President Chicago Theological Seminary; NORMAN B. NASH, Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts; REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Professor of Christian Ethics Union Theological Seminary; G. BROMLEY OXNAM, Methodist Bishop of New York; JAMES G. PATTON, President Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union; CURTIS W. REESE, Dean Abraham Lincoln Center; WALTER P. REUTHER, President United Automobile Workers of America.

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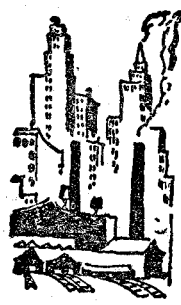

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Paul Hoffman's Ultimatum

IN HIS address to the Council of the Marshall Plan Nations on October 31 Paul Hoffman, E. R. P. administrator, said there were now two urgent economic tasks confronting Western Europe. The first was to balance Europe's trade with the dollar area; the second, on which he put much greater emphasis, was "the building of an expanding economy... through economic integration," the substance of which would be "the creation of a permanent, freely trading area comprising 270,000,000 consumers in Western Europe." With such a development, he suggested, there could be a rapid growth in productivity which would enable Europe to improve its competitive position in the world and raise its standards of living; without it there was real danger that when E. R. P. came to an end, a recurrence of dollar shortages would set in motion anew "the vicious cycle of economic nationalism."

In urging consideration of his objective Mr. Hoffman stressed the fact that speed in achieving integration was essential. "A European program to this end," he said, "one which should show real promise of taking this great step forward successfully, would, I strongly believe, give new impetus to American support toward lasting European recovery. . . . Particularly because of the urgency of the need I do make this considered request: that you have ready early in 1950 a record of accomplishment and a program which together will take Europe well along the road to economic integration."

I have little doubt that Mr. Hoffman will deny that this speech constituted an ultimatum to the Marshall Plan nations, but I do not see how it can be interpreted in any other way, particularly when taken in conjunction with the statement of a "high authority" in Washington, quoted by the New York *Times*, that unless Western European governments agree on a program of integration by January, the Administration will not ask Congress for a third E. R. P. appropriation. As the Alsops wrote on October 26, evidently with some foreknowledge of Mr. Hoffman's address, what is contemplated is "a shotgun wedding" to force European nations to start housekeeping together.

Few people will deny that an economically united Europe where there were no artificial barriers to the movement of goods and workers would ultimately gain immensely in productivity and prosperity. It would mean a free trade market, even larger than our own, where mass consumption would make possible the savings of mass production and where resources, such as the water power of the great Alpine region, which cannot now be fully utilized, could be exploited for the benefit of the whole area. Nevertheless, we must recognize the immense difficulties of integrating Europe and the grave dangers in trying to rush the job.

We are rather inclined to argue that what the thirteen North American colonies did, sixteen European nations can do if they have the will. But we must remember that the colonies started with a number of advantages: they had a common language, a common legal system, common political traditions, and they were all at much the same stage of economic development. There were no strongly intrenched competing textile industries in Massachusetts and Georgia or steel industries in New York and Pennsylvania. Yet even so, agreement for political and economic union was not easily achieved.

It may be said that we are not proposing a United States of Europe but simply a European customs union, but in fact it is going to be very difficult to achieve the second without the first. Mr. Hoffman, for instance, mentioned the importance of coordinating fiscal and monetary policies. But how is this to be done while each of the sixteen nations remains sovereign? Agreements among governments to balance their budgets are of course possible, but they will be of little value unless Parliaments are willing not merely to levy taxes but to insure their collection. Then there is the question of social-security policies. Is it possible for each of the sixteen nations to follow an independent program, and if not, how are differences to be threshed out except in a legislative body representing all the people in the European union?

Another difficulty is that Western Europe is not nearly as well-balanced an economic area as the United States. Even when integrated, it would still have to live by exchanging manufactured goods for food and raw materials. From the point of view of the whole area it would be good policy, therefore, to levy low tariffs, or none at all, on food and raw materials from the outside world. But that would surely be opposed by a country like France, which would see little advantage in a European customs union unless it meant an enlarged and well-protected market for its agricultural produce. A high tariff on American and Canadian wheat imported into the European union would be essential from the French point of view but entirely contrary to the interests of a large number of other countries.

Such difficulties are not necessarily insuperable, but they are not to be swept away overnight even by shotgun methods. The most we can reasonably expect is the organization of more customs unions on the Benelux model. That idea has been given a fillip by Sir Stafford Cripps's statement that although Britain's commitments to the Commonwealth and the sterling area must limit its participation in integration plans, it will assist the formation of regional monetary and tariff blocs. One such bloc, which might eventually be linked to the sterling area, is being actively considered by the three Scandinavian countries. France and Italy, which for some time have engaged in desultory conversations about a customs union, may now attack the problem more earnestly, and perhaps approach Benelux with proposals for a wider grouping. At best, however, such projects will mature slowly: even the Benelux union is far from completely consummated. And while Mr. Hoffman himself may be satisfied with this approach to integration, there is danger that his too forceful language may lead Congress to expect something much more dramatic.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Essays and Asides

WHAT'S ALL THIS SEMANTICS?

BY STUART CHASE

"What's all this about one man, one vote?" asked the Nottingham miner.

"Why, one bloody man, one bloody vote," Bill replied.

"Well, why the 'ell can't they say so?"

THIS story quoted from Walpole in Hayakawa's new book about semantics* illustrates as well as anything I know the fact that semantics is concerned with current *meanings*, not with philology, grammar, or dictionaries. I wrote "The Tyranny of Words"—can it be twelve years ago?—and people still say: "Psst! Here comes Chase, we must define our terms and have the Webster handy." It is depressing to be so misunderstood, but perhaps Hayakawa will help to clear it up. A dictionary definition, useful as it can be, bears about the same relation to semantics that a windshield wiper does to the Second Law of Thermodynamics.

Suppose we let our minds range over the wider implications of this new and vigorous discipline—especially its relation to human intelligence. From one point of view intelligence is the ability to evaluate man's two great and constant problems: how to come to terms with his physical environment; how to come to terms with his kind. The higher the intelligence, the better the evaluation and the greater the chance for survival—to say nothing of a happier and more rewarding life.

A glance at the headlines shows that this kind of intelligence is not too common; while a glance into any classroom will show that it is almost never taught to children. Some people achieve it by a long and arduous collection of experiences, but they are rarely able to pass the accomplishment along. The current spate of How-to-Live books is but the sorriest of burlesques. The Chinese are said to have done somewhat better in achieving this rare combination than most.

In the West a more common meaning for intelligence is book learning and the ability to use long words—the medieval-scholar ideal. It is also attributed, though with something of a grimace, to the smart boys who know how to clamber up the ladder and make a million while the rest of us are making ten cents—such boys as the hero of "What Makes Sammy Run." Neither of these meanings is particularly helpful in tempering mankind to his environment.

Semantics deals with the first meaning. It seeks to analyze the processes of human intelligence in the sense of better adjustment to the conditions of this earth. It makes use of the findings of psychology, physiology, neurology, in studying the direct experiences which words symbolize. It uses the scientific method to discover how human beings know what they know. When philosophers attempt this, normally without the scientific method, it is called epistemology.

The semantic analysis begins with light waves, sound waves, tactile pressures, coming from the environment to the eye, ear, finger tips; and notes that it is the business of the central nervous system to take these stimuli, sort and digest them, and issue commands to the organism. Anatol Rapoport, a mathematical biologist, describes what happens when we see, say, a dog.

> Certain spots of light affect the cells in the retina of our eye. Nerve impulses travel from retinal cells along the optic nerve to the occipital lobe of our brain, and patterns of excitation are mapped upon it. From there, other series of nerve impulses are initiated and travel to our association areas, where past experiences of similar nature are stored. Other impulses travel to the speech area, and still others to the muscles of our mouth, to our tongue, lips, and vocal chords, and we form the sounds: *I see a dog.*

No other animal says, "I see a dog," in any language. It is language which chiefly makes what Julian Huxley calls "the uniqueness of man." Without language we could not classify things in the environment, could not abstract. Without abstraction we could not think; would have no intelligence beyond that of a smart cat. For thousands of years men used language as they used the arterial system, hardly aware of its existence. Doctors since Harvey have discovered quite a bit about the one, and semanticists, along with psychologists and psychiatrists, are beginning to discover something about the other. A significant discovery is that the language structure of any culture, past or present, is capable of grave abuse. The communication line gets blocked; the map which the mind makes of the territory outside is thrown out of focus. As a result, the environment is misevaluated; the chances for survival are reduced.

The hypothesis can be advanced that many of the difficulties in which *homo sapiens* finds himself today are not due to human cussedness but to failure clearly to see his world. The language he uses creates entities out there which are not there, and vice versa. The semanticists have identified various ways in which language can go wrong, including:

Confusing words with things.

Confusing levels of abstraction.

Failure to distinguish between a fact, an inference, and a judgment.

Belief in absolutes.

False identification—"guilt by association."

Two-valued orientation—"either-or" thinking.

Belief in the power of words as such—word magic.

Pursuit of meaningless questions.

Hayakawa examines each of these difficulties with wit and profundity, bringing to bear the latest findings of semantics, and of the sciences upon which it relies. He has produced perhaps the best book yet on the whole subject, and one of the most readable.

Before semantics takes its place as an established science, there is a good deal

*"Language in Thought and Action." By S. I. Hayakawa. A completely revised edition of his earlier "Language in Action." Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

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of postgraduate research to be done. One can say, however, after a thoughtful assimilation of this book, that semantics has gone far enough to give the inquiring student a pretty good idea of how thoughts are formed in his mind, and why they often fail to reflect the reality beyond his mind. Once he gets the idea, he is like a man released from prison—a prison of words. He begins to see the unfettered possibilities of human intelligence.

Most of us are locked in. We cannot even handle such terms as "democracy," "loyalty," "the welfare state." We march endlessly up and down our ideological cells, or round and round a prison yard paved with flint-like absolutes. Semantics opens the door. We can go out. We are free.

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The Yalta Controversy

ROOSEVELT AND THE RUSSIANS: THE YALTA CONFERENCE. By Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. Edited by Walter Johnson. Doubleday and Company. $4.

VIRULENT Rooseveltphobes like to contend that a large number of our difficulties with Russia spring from the consistent "appeasement" policies of the late President. And in a left-handed way some of our Stalinophiles support this view by claiming that, had Roosevelt lived, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union would be far more harmonious than they are.

Both schools of thought find evidence to back their opinions in the proceedings of the Yalta conference. To the first that meeting represents the "high tide of appeasement" (see *Life*, February 6, 1948); to the second it affords proof that there is no real obstacle to cooperation between America and Russia so long as the latter is approached in friendship and with due regard to its dignity as a great power.

This book by a former Secretary of State who participated both in the plenary sessions of the conference and in the daily meetings of the three foreign ministers will not offer much comfort to either right or left. Yalta, Mr. Stettinius declares, was indeed the high point of war-time cooperation between the United States, Britain, and Russia. It settled a number of conflicts on important military and political questions, among them the formation of the United Nations, control of Germany, and the future of Poland, not by Western surrender to Russian views but by a process of mutual give and take. In fact, according to this authority, the Soviet Union made more concessions than either of the other powers.

The trouble with the Yalta Agreement, Mr. Stettinius asserts, was not that it was bad in itself but that the Russian government subsequently failed to respect either its letter or its spirit. He makes the interesting suggestion that Stalin may have encountered opposition from an anti-Western group in the Politburo after his return to Moscow. In any case, ". . . shortly after the Yalta conference had closed, the Soviet Union began to hedge on some of its agreements. The Russians delayed on certain military agreements; they impeded the formation of the German Control Commission; they failed to live up to the 'Declaration of Liberated Europe' as applied to Rumania; and they greatly impeded execution of the Polish agreement."

One of the main accusations against Roosevelt in connection with Yalta is that he "sold out" China by agreeing that rights and concessions in Manchuria which Russia lost after its defeat by Japan in 1904 should be restored. This recovery of the fruits of czarist imperialism was the Soviet Union's price for participation in the war against Japan. Should we have agreed to urge the Chinese government to pay it?

Perhaps not; but as Mr. Stettinius reminds us, when Roosevelt went to Yalta he was under great pressure to sign up Russia as an ally against Japan. "At this time the atomic bomb was still an unknown quantity, and our setback in the Battle of the Bulge was fresh in the minds of all. We had not as yet crossed the Rhine. No one knew how long the European war would last nor how great the casualties would be." It was under such circumstances, and lacking the hindsight in the light of which future critics operated, that Roosevelt heeded the appeal of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States to secure "Russian entry [into the war against Japan] at the earliest possible date consistent with her ability to engage in offensive operations."

The real complaint of the Rooseveltphobes is that at Yalta the President bargained with Stalin instead of dictating to him—a charge which suggests that its authors live in a comic-strip world where America is the Superman of nations. This book, with its blow-by-blow account of the conference, brings us back to earth. It reminds us that the discussions took place at a moment when serious conflict of the three major allies could have proved disastrous. "It was essential that Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt make an honest attempt at Yalta to work with the Russians. For the peace of the world, they had to make every effort to test the good faith of the Soviet Union."

It is sad that Mr. Stettinius should have died on the eve of publication of this book, but we can be grateful that

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he lived to complete what is not the least creditable of his public services. It is a work which should both help to cool the Yalta controversy and prove valuable to historians of the war.

This reviewer would like to add a word of praise for its author's courage in defending Alger Hiss, one of the leading experts in the American Yalta delegation, for in these days to speak well of a man under suspicion of Communist affiliations means inviting the attentions of the smear specialists. "Hiss," writes Mr. Stettinius, "performed brilliantly throughout the Dumbarton Oaks conversations, the Yalta conference, the San Francisco conference, and the first meeting of the United Nations Assembly in London. I always had reason to believe that Hiss acted honorably and patriotically in the performance of his duties at these conferences." KEITH HUTCHISON

Minor Faulkner

KNIGHT'S GAMBIT. By William Faulkner. Random House. $2.75.

W. C. FIELDS, probably our best comedian, liked to juggle between comedy sequences, and William Faulkner, certainly our best novelist, likes to write "detective stories" between novels. He writes them partly for money, but it seems obvious that he enjoys the conventional manipulation of motive and situation required by the detective story in much the same way that Fields enjoyed retreating to "pure" routines of juggling. (At this point, I notify friend and foe, the comparison abruptly ends.)

Even at his most turgid and banal, Faulkner is an interesting writer, for there is always in his work the suggestion that it comes, not from the top of his will, but rather from some cavernous reserve of personal imagination and folk rapport. He is a writer seized and driven; a writer who, if we did not fear being hooted down as romantic and —even worse—old-fashioned, we would say is touched by the divine madness of contaminated genius. Even in these minor pieces, half pot-boilers and half amused exercises, it is possible to find the major themes of his major works: the reiterated admiration for the two human qualities he most admires, honor and fidelity; the shy convoluted respect for the Negroes, partly native to him and partly literary adherence to a myth bred in guilt; the sharp scorn for those who "mistreat the land"; the too simple description of city people as "hard, bright, metallic"; the assumption that a man "without ancestry" is, if not bad, then vulnerable; and the greatest of all Faulkner themes, the welling love for those whose life is a spiritual resistance, "the lowly and invincible of the earth [who] endure and endure and then endure."

These themes are present in as contrived and fishy a story as An Error in Chemistry; they are also present in "The Sound and the Fury," "Light in August," and "Intruder in the Dust." Those critics who content themselves with thematic exegesis, with noting the recurrence of patterns of myth or feeling or idea in an author's work, will here find a neat problem in method. For no one is likely to deny that the stories in "Knight's Gambit" are, at least for Faulkner, second-rate.

If read merely as detective stories, possible only as a deliberate exercise, they fail to satisfy the needs of that form; sometimes they are obscure in the mechanical business of clue and dénouement, and usually they are innocent of those devices which befuddle and entice the reader—Faulkner puts his clues in italics! But if read as stories they are unsatisfactory because the detective apparatus gets in the way of Faulkner's meanings. Consequently there is a conflict between the form, with which Faulkner toys half-seriously, and the content, which he could not escape if he would. Put in another way: the loping reverie which is his basic style, even though somewhat clipped in these stories, is yet too heavy, too thick with Faulknerian connotations, to be conveniently supported by the rickety detective-story foundation. Put still another way: by locating the stories in Yocknapatawpha County, Faulkner invites comparison with his major novels, as a result of which the stories necessarily seem trivial.

Gavin Stevens, who was Faulkner's ideological mouthpiece in "Intruder in the Dust," is here raised to the level of a fabulous boy's hero, a wise lawyer who reminds one a bit too much of the frontier sage, "a Harvard graduate . . . who could discuss Einstein with college

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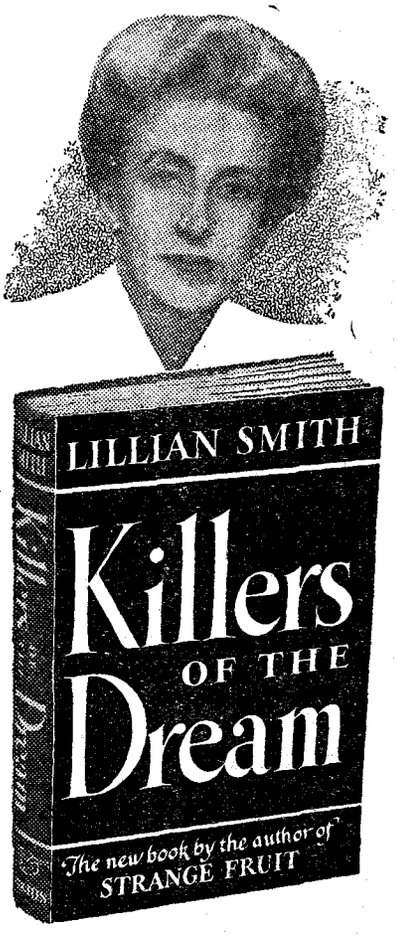

VINCENT SHEEAN says in a front-page review in the N. Y. *Herald Tribune Book Review:* "A brave, honest and heart-breaking book. The real matter...is not the 'Negro Problem' or economics or sociology, and it is no one aspect of life, either individual or general but life itself. . . . What she points out is that the hand of fate has thrust us into a position where the whole world is involved in our doings. We shall not be believed abroad while we daily kill the dream at home. No reader of this book . . . can fail to see that she has made a very good case."

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professors and who spent whole afternoons among the squatting men against the walls of country stores, talking to them in their idiom." This might be all right if Faulkner established some ironic distance between himself and Stevens, but he seems to take him almost as seriously as Stevens takes himself.

All of this is not very terrible, for Faulkner's essential achievement is beyond question and his stature will not be altered very much one way or the other by "Knight's Gambit." But, as Faulkner himself might put it:

It is proof that even a writer of probity and honor and good-sense (the probity and honor and good-sense of a man who has never had time to become confused and self-doubting by too much learning) who has lived long enough to have seen that the onus of any business is usually in the hasty minds of theoreticians who have no business of their own, that a writer who resists the metallic click of commerce with an intractable and incorrigible strength (in which resides the bitter pride and indomitable passion of the men ((yes, even those living in the paintless shacks and eating the scraggy greens)) of his own country) may yet sometimes fail—not because there has been any willed violation of that intractable probity and honor, and not even because there has been any decline in his power to lend not only a perspicacity but a sort of solid reasonableness to the most fantastic inconsequence, and certainly not because there is any sign that he has been questing for the amazed and stormlike staccato of adulant palms, but simply because it is only in literature that the paradoxical and even mutally negativing anecdotes of the history of a human heart can be juxtaposed and annealed by art into verisimilitude and credibility, and because literature, even if wedged and sneaked and shrewdly outrageously veiled, is impossible in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

IRVING HOWE

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Miracle in Ecuador

THE AWAKENING VALLEY. By John Collier, Jr., and Aníbal Buitrón. University of Chicago Press. $6.

CALLED by its authors "a collaboration in interpretative ethnology," this fine book describes a remarkable revival of Indian life and economy in the Andean highlands of Ecuador. There, in the high-hung valley of Otavalo that lies beneath the soaring peaks of Imbabura and Cotacachi, a space of three short decades has seen what is perhaps the most significant and inspiriting rebirth of native life to be witnessed in any part of the vast Indian realm of the Western Hemisphere.

Its origins in that remote fastness of the Pacific declivity are of their kind dramatic. A white man, sometime around 1920, asked an Indian who had never woven anything but his own ponchos to weave him a length of woolen cloth. The Indian produced on his primitive loom an almost perfect copy of an English tweed. From that feat a new industry grew. Soon Indian tweeds and textiles were selling all over the nation and beyond it. A new pride and revenue came into the life of the poverty-stricken natives, and these were at once directed toward satisfying the Indians' deepest passion—the recovery of the land from which they had been dispossessed by the white conquerors four centuries ago. Slowly the valley was bought back by its ancient owners. Fields and crops were reclaimed from decay by intensive cultivation, rising from the valley floor up the slopes of Imbabura as far as the altitude permitted. Sheep-raising, crop cultivation, and house-building were rescued from the bare subsistence level of rackrented tillage and agrarian servility. Initiative and courage were reborn in the native population, and this indigenous strength, dexterity, and pride in work manifested themselves in terms of the Indians' special instincts—a consolidation of family life toward efficiency in labor and productivity, a gradual diminution of disease and infant mortality, an increasing coordination of the close-knit community.

Today, while the white people of the nearby towns look "run down," "worn, discouraged, and apathetic," their culture degenerating through "lack of contact with its Old World origins" because it fails to take "new strength from the people their forefathers conquered," their health and morale weakened by poor diet, disease, and lack of economic opportunity, the Indians "have gone through genuinely evolutionary changes," gradually absorbing "ways of the white world without a disruption of their own Indian culture" and making "a unique adjustment—one that is giving them the advantages of the modern age without crushing their spirit."

The story of this deeply moving drama is told here in two mediums—in Buitrón's simple, vivid, and authoritative prose, and in Collier's magnificent photographs. Both narratives, the verbal and the pictorial, are equally stirring, and provide one of the most impressive accounts of American ethnological recovery and moral rebirth that has been produced in many years. Its import to workers in Indian rehabilitation in both Americas, North and South, is obvious, and it carries a lesson even beyond the Indian world itself. What comes forward is impressive evidence on the real means of reclaiming the spirit and courage of aboriginal America toward liberating it from its heritage of privation and prejudice, its old liabilities of poverty, demoralization, and subjugation. As the authors carry the reader through their tale of the Indian's day, of religion and civil affairs, agriculture, fiestas, marriage, baptism, sickness and death, toward the "changing economy," the "new generation," and the "horizons" they envisage in their closing chapters, they succeed in illuminating the future

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of subcultural and subtropical life in the Western Hemisphere, in relieving the depression of anyone who has ever witnessed the "Andean sadness" or quailed before the problem of Latin American privation, and in defining a source of confidence that comes with the force of a revelation in that scene of riddled politics, festering conflicts, and baffled apathy. The authors of "The Awakening Valley" are both eloquent and convincing, not only when they call Otavalo "a miracle of cultural rebirth," but when they offer it as a clue to the future destiny of agrarian America and of the vast dormant energies of its native life.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Pity the Whites

KILLERS OF THE DREAM. By Lillian Smith. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

IN A magazine article a few years ago Lillian Smith, with rare insight and remarkable courage, analyzed the fears of white men, their infantile and narcissistic preoccupation with their own skin color, and their hysterical resistance to emotional growth. "I believe," stated Miss Smith, "we can find the way if we are willing to look in a new direction for the source of our trouble. We have looked at the Negro problem long enough. Now the time has come for us to right-about-face and study the problem of the white man: the deep-rooted needs that have caused him to seek those strange, regressive satisfactions that are derived from worshiping his own skin-color. The white man himself is one of the world's most urgent problems today; not the Negro, not other colored races. We whites must learn to confess this." In her new book on the South she addresses herself to this problem, and her analysis is both incisive and decisive.

Miss Smith points out that two conflicting streams of thought have characterized the culture of the South. One embraces the idea of the dignity of the human personality, belief in the rights of man and in the nobility of the human spirit. This creed finds political expression in the institution of democracy and spiritual expression in the Christian religion. This is the dream.

The other tradition is that of racism. A mere seventy-five years ago the South sanctioned, and practiced, the enslavement of human beings. The subordination of people because of their color is part of its cultural heritage. The system of morals which countenanced slavery has by no means been dissipated and finds expression in current practices of segregation and discrimination. This dead hand of the past and the South's inability to give up its "gains"—sexual, social, and economic—are the killers of the dream.

Those who speak of the "gains" that Southern whites derive from its racial system seldom estimate the cost with any adequacy. Miss Smith assesses not only the economic cost but the mental and emotional price that Southerners pay for the maintenance of the system. Negroes live in fear and constant insecurity, but white people too are ridden by anxiety in their dealings with colored people. If the Negro suffers from the obsessions of the oppressed, the white man suffers equally from the oppressor's obsessions. He feels guilty

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because his treatment of the Negro is contrary to his higher impulses and his noblest beliefs. Since he is unable or unwilling to resolve his guilt, he comes to hate the object of it, and finally to fear the Negro because he knows that he himself would strike back if he were treated as he treats Negroes.

To relieve himself of his guilt, to justify his hate, and to expel his fear, the Southern white man has erected an elaborate façade of justifications and rationalizations. The Negro is a primitive, dangerous person who must be kept in subordination. Negroes are ridden with tuberculosis and syphilis. Negroes do not have the same sensibilities as whites. Negroes are children of nature and are incapable of participating in and enjoying the higher manifestations of culture. Negroes would rather live to themselves. These rationalizations do not, however, quell the white man's knowledge that he and his fellows, Americans who believe in freedom and the dignity of the human personality, are actively or passively perpetuating a society which defiles all that is human in other human beings. The elaborate attempts to dehumanize the Negro have been successful up to a point, but not to the point where those who participate in this cruel drama can do so without guilt, hate, and fear. It is the corroding effects of this conflict of emotions which account for the sickness of the South.

Miss Smith describes the concrete ways in which this cultural malaise debases personality. The Southern white woman who believes that the Negro mammy is her servant has really surrendered her child, a portion of his love, and part of the joy of his upbringing, to another woman. Thus stripped of many of her maternal and womanly responsibilities, the Southern white woman often becomes a child-wife. Furthermore, she is placed upon a pedestal which she does not, as a woman, wish to occupy and is not allowed to enjoy normal sexual love. Just as she has had to share the love of her child with the black mammy, so also, in many instances, she must share the love of her husband with a Negro woman.

The white man suffers almost equal deprivation. As a child he has two mothers—his black mammy and his white mother. He is never able quite to give up the black mammy, who is usually the more definitely sexual figure. His attraction to Negro women, which he himself seldom understands, is partly the desire to regain the warmth and tenderness he experienced as a child in his mammy's arms. On the other hand, having given so much of his sexual-emotional life to Negro women, the white man cannot give himself wholeheartedly to his white wife and in many instances acquiesces in her role as child-wife.

Thus both white men and white women are cheated and, what is more serious, are incapable of taking on the responsibilities of adulthood. Their children are subtly and cruelly trained to repeat the same destructive pattern.

Clearly, then, as Miss Smith indicates, there is a greater tragedy in this drama of human relationships than the devastating effects of race prejudice on the personality of the Negro. The simple truth is that the presence and the inferior position of the Negro in the South have provided to men of both races a convenient mechanism by which to avoid arriving at emotional maturity. Race hatred presents an outlet for their dammed-up emotions, provides a defense for their tender egos, and constitutes a justification for their continued adolescence. As a result both Negroes and whites fail to grapple with their personal problems or to achieve the maturity which is necessary for a stable society.

Lillian Smith, herself a Southerner who loves the South, speaks in this book "as one who talks to one's family in a crisis, uncovering experiences which our health as human beings requires us to understand." Much of what she says, it need hardly be pointed out,

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is applicable also, in greater or less degree, to the North. She has made her case. She has pretty well demonstrated that in order to achieve individual and social maturity the South must yield the so-called advantages of an archaic system and rid itself of the neurotic need to suppress weaker people. Whether or not Southerners—or the rest of us—have the courage and strength to do so remains to be seen. But at least the first step—a calm, clear, and fearless discussion of the problem by a Southerner—has been taken.

HORACE R. CAYTON

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE voice of the English tenor Peter Pears was very small in Town Hall, where he appeared in a concert with the composer Benjamin Britten; but with his sensitive deployment of the voice in long phrases, his extraordinarily distinct pronunciation of the words of the English songs by Purcell and others, and the tact of Britten's piano-playing, there were achieved in the large space of Town Hall the quietly intimate performances of those lovely songs in a small room. Britten also contributed to the occasion as a composer: the accompaniments of the songs by Purcell were his realizations of the figured basses, which I thought skilful and tactful; and the program included his settings of seven sonnets of Michelangelo, which were resourceful adaptations of Britten's resources to the purposes of the texts, but which did not have, for me, any intrinsic musical value apart from those purposes.

The opening program of the Little Orchestra Society was one of the worst of the many examples of Thomas Scherman's lack of every kind of judgment involved in the making of programs—in deciding, that is, what is worth playing, what can be played with what else, and how much to give the audience at one sitting. The almost two-and-a-half-hour program would have been too long even if it had not begun with the obscure Bartok Music for Strings and Percussion, continued with a dull and interminable Concerto in F for two pianos by C. P. E. Bach that should have been left in its deserved obscurity, then offered an unfamiliar Octet for winds by Beethoven that was only one of his early and unsignificant exercises in the styles of his predecessors, and ended with Martinu's Concerto for two pianos, one of the works in which he exhibits his ability to spin out nothing at all into three movements. Moreover, part of the business of program-making is choosing what one can prepare and play well; and in that respect too the program was poorly made. The eight winds tootled through the Beethoven competently (except for an impossibly florid horn passage); but relief for the ear after all the rough, coarse playing of the orchestra in the Bartok and Bach, the percussive, graceless playing of Luboshutz and Nemenoff in the Bach, came only with the beautiful sound of the richly scored Martinu.

Through the kindness of Elaine Music Shop I am able to report on some HMV recordings which RCA Victor should have issued here but hasn't. First, Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 503, played by Edwin Fischer with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Josef Krips (DB-9287/90). This is the work Tovey chose to illustrate his exposition of the Mozart concerto form; yet it is the least played and least known of the great examples of that form; and this may be because it makes its effect not by the profusion of immediately appealing melodies of the other examples, but by its grandeur of style and its now dramatic, now subtle play with tonality, which the eighteenth-century ear was more sensitized to than ours. These may require repeated hearing to exercise their effect; but the effect may then be overwhelming. As for the performance, the orchestra under Krips imparts the required grandeur to the work, and Fischer plays straightforwardly (except for occasional archness) and intelligently, but without the sensitiveness of touch and elasticity of rhythm which create the exquisite contours of phrase in the old recorded performance of Mozart's Rondo K. 382 that Victor reissued last spring (on 11-0031). That performance is a demonstration of what Fischer—always an uneven pianist—was capable of at his best; and in a piece which is mostly undistinguished a couple of piano interludes provide exciting surprises.

Also Beethoven's Sonata for cello and piano Opus 102 No. 1—with its wonderful slow introductions to its two movements—played by Fournier and Schnabel (DB-6500/1). As against the

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old Casals-Horszowski performance, this is one on equal terms by a cellist with a less powerful style than Casals's, but a superb artist in his own style, and a pianist with a more powerful style than Horszowski's—which results in, among other things, a clearer outlining by the piano of the tricky rhythm at the beginning of the fast part of the second movement.

And also Schnabel's latest recordings of Beethoven's Piano Concertos Nos. 5 (DB-9326/30) and 2 (DB-9099/102). His playing in No. 5 is very good—though a fault of piano or recording causes the quiet C-flat major passage in the first movement to sound clumsily accented; but the orchestra's playing under Galliera is poor, and the recorded sound is stridently sharp. No. 2 is a work I care little for; but Schnabel makes it an exciting experience with some of the loveliest playing he has ever done; the orchestra under Dobrowen is good; and the performance is well reproduced.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

[Joseph Wood Krutch finds it necessary, for the time being, to forgo the theater. His column will be resumed within a few weeks.]

"MONTSERRAT," Lillian Hellman's adaptation of a French play by Emmanuel Roblés (Fulton Theater), is set in Venezuela in the year 1812 during the Spanish occupation. Its action revolves around the attempt of a seasoned Spanish officer, Izquiredo (Emlyn Williams), to force another, the young Montserrat (William Redfield), who has gone over to Bolívar, to reveal the hiding place of the Venezuelan leader. Izquiredo calls in six people picked at random in the square and informs them, and Montserrat, that they will be shot at the end of an hour unless Montserrat gives up his secret. Four of them—a business man, an actor, a wood-carver, and a mother—try to persuade him and fail. The other two, a boy and girl "of the people," argue the other way. Montserrat does not yield. The six hostages are shot one by one, and after them Montserrat.

The play, it will be seen, touches upon all the themes that are so dear to the hearts of leftists committed to the class struggle: the dilemma of either-or and the necessity of choice between absolutes, the imminence of crisis, class behaviorism, the leader principle, the sacrifice of the present to the future, the unimportance of the individual, and above all the principle that the end justifies the means. These themes are not as fresh as they once were. They have become shopworn in the theater, and in the real world they have been exploited so systematically as a means to an end no more inspiring than power that they arouse suspicion rather than belief. It will take a better play than "Montserrat" to reinvest them even with their actual limited validity. But through Mr. Roblés and Miss Hellman are behind the times and though "Montserrat" is contrived as well as dated, the adaptation shows the hand of an experienced and skilful worker in the theater, and Emlyn Williams is an actor worth seeing in almost any circumstances.

"Regina" (Forty-sixth Street Theater) is a musical drama written and composed by Marc Blitzstein. In this case Miss Hellman is the adaptee, for the piece is based on "The Little Foxes." I should have said that the last thing that should be introduced into "The Little Foxes" was music—unless it were a mean variation on a dirge—and "Regina" bears me out. Grimness and tautness were of the essence of Miss Hellman's play, and it was effective because it was grim and taut from beginning to end. In this musical version Regina Hubbard's house has become a home with a sunny veranda where colored people sing and dance and with a ballroom where elegant parties take place. There is a jazz band which does its stuff from time to time, the lines are rendered in recitative, and the money-mad Hubbards break into song as if it were not, for them, the least natural thing in the world. As a result, the taut line of the play is slackened and broken, the claustrophobic atmosphere Miss Hellman induced is dissipated by air and arias, and the little foxes tend to seem more funny than fierce. Indeed, the effect comes close to that of burlesque when in the last act the evil Ben Hubbard turns upon his evil sister Regina with a song called "Greedy Girl" which sounds as if it had been designed for the hit parade and could hardly be less appropriate to the situation or the characters. The large cast is well chosen and the voices are good—but Mr. Haggin will deal with the strictly musical aspects of what seemed to me a rather weird amalgam.

I'm sorry to have to continue in so grim a vein, but "Lost in the Stars," with words by Maxwell Anderson and music by Kurt Weill, which is also an adaptation, struck me as another case of misguided zeal—not to mention money and talent. It is described as a musical tragedy, and it is based on Alan Paton's "Cry, the Beloved Country." Mr. Paton's novel is a tract for the times which deals with race in South Africa. It has little literary merit, but it commands respect for its dignity and simplicity, its clear feeling, and the understanding it displays of a complex and indeed tragic problem. Mr. Anderson has distorted Mr. Paton's tale and distended it into a melodrama (not tragedy) with singers and chorus which takes place somewhere between Harlem and South Africa and is, to put it mildly, true to neither. "Lost in the Stars" may be "good theater," but it is so full of fuss and fustian, both musical and verbal, that even as spectacle it left me unimpressed.

I haven't space this time to say more about "Lost in the Stars"; or to do more than mention a fourth play that opened last week: "I Know My Love." This is an adaptation (again) by S. N. Behrman of a play by Marcel Achard (Schubert Theater). It is hardly more than a vehicle for Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne, but I enjoyed it very much. I will discuss it next week.

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Letters to the Editors

For Greater Enlightenment

Dear Sirs: Some time ago, by the courtesy of the respective editors, I arranged exchange systems between a thousand subscribers to the *New Statesman and Nation* and an equal number of subscribers to *The Nation* or the *New Republic*. The numerous letters I have received show how greatly the exchange is appreciated.

May I suggest that this appreciation might be very usefully put to work if every "exchangee" would secure one additional subscriber to his weekly.

Never has the need of better understanding of world affairs been more imperative, and the leaven of a thousand more subscribers on each side of the Atlantic might increase enlightenment.

P. DENIS GOODALL

Basingstoke, England, October 10

Revolution Without Terror

[*The two interesting reports from China which follow were written by an American woman and a British business man, both anti-Stalinist and both long resident in the Far East.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Dear Sirs: Present relations between the United States and China are heartrending to anyone so placed as to be able to see both sides. I am an American, and I believe that the American form of government is the best that has evolved on this earth so far; therefore communism, as such, makes no appeal to me. At the same time I have been married to a Chinese man for nineteen years, and during the fifteen years that I have lived here in Tientsin I have associated predominantly with the Chinese; therefore I think I am able to a certain extent to judge whether the Chinese Communists are or are not Russian-dominated and whether the Chinese people are giving their willing support to the new People's Government or are being suppressed by a fanatical foreign-controlled faction.

Our friends—doctors, bankers, engineers, business men, teachers, and industrialists—are helping the People's Government in every way. These friends were all students once in America; they are all pro-American and anti-Russian. But they are puzzled by the American attitude and shocked at the implications of some of the revelations in the State Department's White Paper on China. They believe that if the State Department had used a little diplomacy and tact, instead of a constant hostility which left the Chinese Communists without face and with no alternative but to talk loudly of their friendship with Russia, there would have been none of the present condemnation of America and praise of Russia in the Chinese Communist press. In other words, the Chinese Communists should have been America's best bet to stop Russia in Asia. Nobody that I have talked to believes that the Chinese Communists receive orders from Moscow or that Stalin has any say in Chinese affairs.

Aside from newspaper propaganda, which everyone recognizes as intended for foreign consumption—the educated Chinese do not want to read it and the uneducated can't—there is no sign of Russian influence anywhere in Tientsin. There are no Russian supervisors or advisers or agents, no secret police, no terror. The Communists have no iron grip on the people, for they do not use force, and when their policy proves unwise or doesn't suit conditions they have plenty of trouble with the workers. But the difficulties and problems are finally worked out, sometimes satisfactorily, sometimes only partially, and sometimes not at all until after many tries. This is accomplished in a series of loud and lengthy *kai huis*—talk fests. Almost every decision to be made in a factory, company, or industry must be thrashed out in one of these meetings of management and labor. To my American way of thinking a lot of it is a terrific waste of time, but the Chinese love to talk and argue and the method suits them.

Since my husband is general manager and chief engineer of the Tientsin Water Works Company, I know something about how the Communists work with the public-utilities corporations and with industries in general. Recently the management and board of directors of the water works refused to accede to an unreasonable demand of the union. The union refused to accept the refusal. The Communist military representative sided with the management and board; the union would not listen to him. Then the Communist director of the Bureau of Public Utilities called a *kai hui* of the representatives of the management, the board, the union, the Communist Military Commission, the utilities bureau, and the Tientsin municipality. For six hours these various representatives ironed out their differences in a discussion that pulled no punches. The board eased up in its demands, the union pulled in its horns, the Communists apologized for not managing more wisely, and everybody was happy. My husband missed his dinner but came home pleased with the outcome of the battle. However, he told the director of the utilities bureau that too much of this *kai hui* business slowed down production and thereby interfered with one of the Communists' most important aims.

This director is a lieutenant general in the Communist army. He has been a guest in our home several times and is a kindly, reasonable, broad-minded man who seems to possess a large measure of the old Chinese virtues—patience, tolerance, and a keen sense of humor. The other evening he talked very frankly with us about the state of the world and of China, and his words showed clearly, to my satisfaction at least, that the Chinese Communist leaders are no stooges of Soviet Russia. He said among other things that China must learn from America, that first China must achieve something like American democracy and industrialization before it can ever have anything like communism; also that Russia is not a Communist country. He said that he thought it would be easier for the United States to become a Communist country than for Russia to do so.

I asked if the Chinese Communists take orders from Stalin or if their leaders were more Russian than Chinese. The General laughed and said that if you planted a tomato seed you got a tomato; that the Chinese Communists were first, last, and always Chinese. Then seriously he added that the Chinese Communists managed their own business; that they followed Mao's ideology; that Mao had worked out a method of achieving Marxism-Leninism suitable to China and quite different from Stalin's method. By following Mao's New Democracy, he said, the Chinese could accomplish communism

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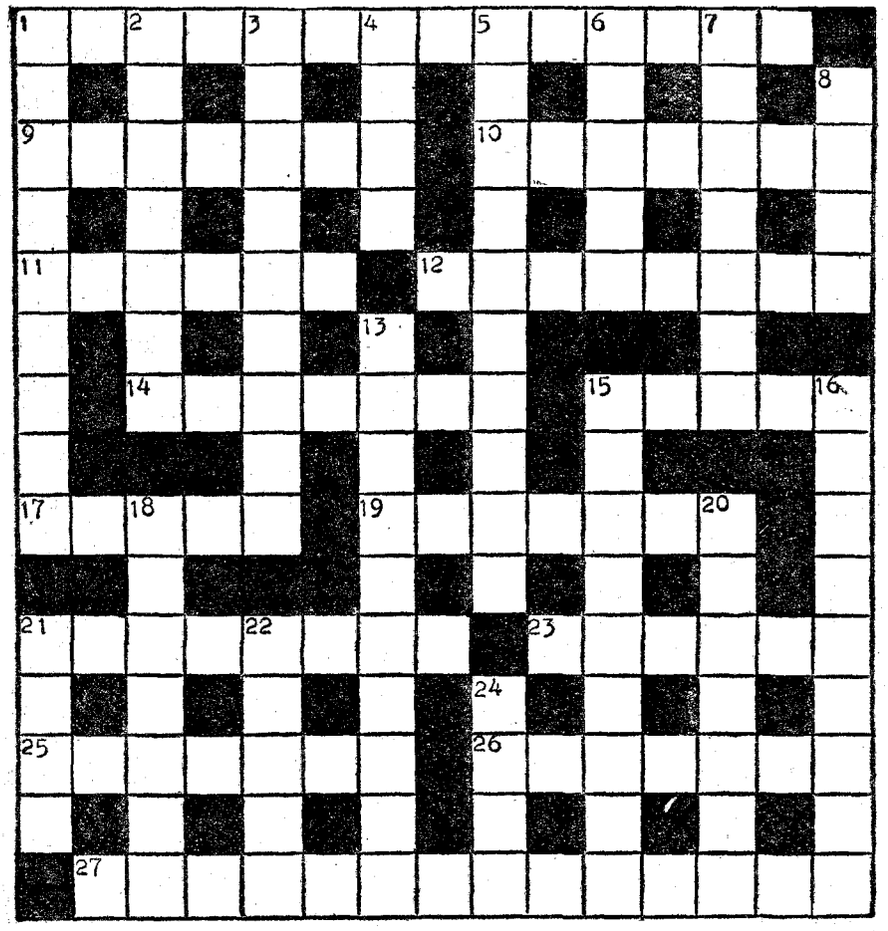
Crossword Puzzle No. 336

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Knocked-down adding machine? (7, 7)
9 Taught to make tea on a bad detour. (7)
10 The historian stands silent before us. (7)
11 and 25. The Lily Maid of Astolat. (6, 3, 4)
12 Deft face, but artificial. (8)
14 Mexican port. (7)
15 Water this in the garden, perhaps. (5)
17 Subject to change in a timeless form of 14. (5)
19 Not an orthodox professor. (7)
21 and 23. Pass the bucks? (5, 3, 6)
25 See 11.
26 Filled like your hat probably. (7)
27 Get our labor a raise, in the light of spectacular production. (6, 8)

DOWN

1 Fatter, but still content. (9)
2 Concerning the plot, it has its draw back. (7)
3 Pertaining to a cultural study or a coming change. (9)
4 Simply not done—not as a homonym of a synonym. (4)
5 How roods might be made? (10) (hyphenated)
6 Mrs. White of the early cinema days? (5)
7 Sir, if you call me that, you do! (7)
8 Former Italian actress, now employed. (4)
13 Causes a doctor-bill—when it's paid, hit her for it. (10)
15 Peter married her at Nice. (9)
16 The top part's as hot as the bottom, with these for protection. (9)
18 Reached frequently in learning. (7)
20 Look! It's in a ruminant! (7)
21 Stuff oneself with too much eats. (4)
22 Time to a-muse? (5)
24 Flowing robe. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 335

ACROSS:—6 PASS; 10 HASSOCK; 12 TURNSPIT; 13 RUINS; 15 ONSET; 19 CONVERSES; 23 STRUM; 24 OMISSION; 27 FROM THE RIDICULOUS TO THE SUBLIME; 28 ANTONIO; 29 DASH; 30 INTERNMENT.

DOWN:—1 RUHR; 2 DISCUSS; 3 CROWN; 4 LAKE POETS; 5 UPSET; 7 ABIDING; 8 STEPSISTER; 9 ABERRANT; 14 VOUCHSAFED; 16 THERMITE; 18 CASTIGATE; 20 NARROWS; 22 TROUNCE; 24 OCEAN; 25 SATIN; 26 and 17 POST EXCHANGES.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

without terror, force, or violence, by patient teaching and persuasion—*hsueh hsi, hsueh hsi,* study to learn. But the process would be so gradual that probably no one alive today would ever see a truly Communist China.

It is too bad for the world that there are not enough wise men with clear vision in the American government today, that so many have a pathological fear of the word "communism." To many Chinese of my acquaintance it is incomprehensible why the American government has become so hysterical over the Chinese Communists. They can understand the worry over Russian communism, because they understand that the Russian Communist Party is not concerned with the welfare of the people of Russia or the world but with the power of the Russian state. There is no need for such worry about China. The Chinese, unlike the Russians, have had thousands of years of individual freedom to think as they please, to work, to enjoy life, to revolt, no matter how ground down in poverty. It seems to me that the Communist Party of China knows it must serve the people faithfully or go down in defeat.

GRACE D. LIU

Tientsin, September 1

Dear Sirs: Shanghai has settled down remarkably well. Prices have dropped since June 30 and have held steady in the past six weeks. There will probably be some slight price rises toward the end of the year, but the People's Government has succeeded, in spite of a shortage of transportation facilities, in keeping Shanghai supplied with adequate stocks of food, coal, and cotton. Marketing and speculation regulations and the sale of essential commodities to workers, teachers, and students through consumer cooperatives has kept the cost of living down to a minimum for a considerable percentage of the population. The new currency has gained some confidence—banks report larger deposits than they have had for years, and the problem now is to find industrial projects which can absorb these deposits—and a rise in foreign-exchange rates no longer means a rise in prices.

Industry and trade are beginning to pick up, in spite of the blockade. Textile production rose about 10 per cent in August, and September production is estimated to be 15 to 20 per cent higher. A note in today's paper reports that many mills which have been on a three-day-a-week shift are now running

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anywhere from five to seven days a week. The blockade at first proved more effective than expected, but with the Communists' advance towards Canton and the fall of Foochow and Amoy, some of the watch dogs have been called off and we can expect an increasing number of ships to call here from now on. This should have an immediate effect and help to reduce the threat of unemployment which loomed large two months ago.

Though the newness of liberation has worn off, and the posters that were put up in May look tired and tattered on the streets, there is no cooling off toward the People's Government. Many Chinese who, particularly in the middle classes, welcomed the Communists for purely selfish reasons had their doubts about it when trade slackened with the blockade, when Kuomintang rumors said the Nationalists would be back on the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, when prices rose rapidly in the first month as speculators got back into their stride. But from mid-July on their fears disappeared. There was no prospect of the Kuomintang's return; most people still had jobs; their money and savings were keeping their value. Among the workers and students approval is as high as ever and understanding much greater, as is shown by the great decrease of labor troubles from their peak in June and July.

When the General Gordon weighed anchor yesterday it took 1,200 foreigners out of here—about 400 American, 250 British, over 400 refugees from Europe, including some White Russians, and an odd assortment of other nationalities. A boatload of nostalgia, but much less crowded than was at first anticipated. Many foreigners have decided that things are picking up, that what they thought was "anti-foreignism" proved to be a purely personal nightmare, and that the People's Government means it when it promises protection to foreigners and their properties. Even profits are not too far round the corner.

When the General Gordon came into port the crew, almost all Americans, were invited by the Seamen's Union to a large party, probably the first such function to be held since the liberation. The friendly mixing of Chinese and Americans there, and the speeches given by Liu Chang-sen and others to welcome an American crew, demonstrated very well that the People's Government is not "anti-foreign" but only anti-imperialist.

HARRISON CHALMERS

Shanghai, September 26

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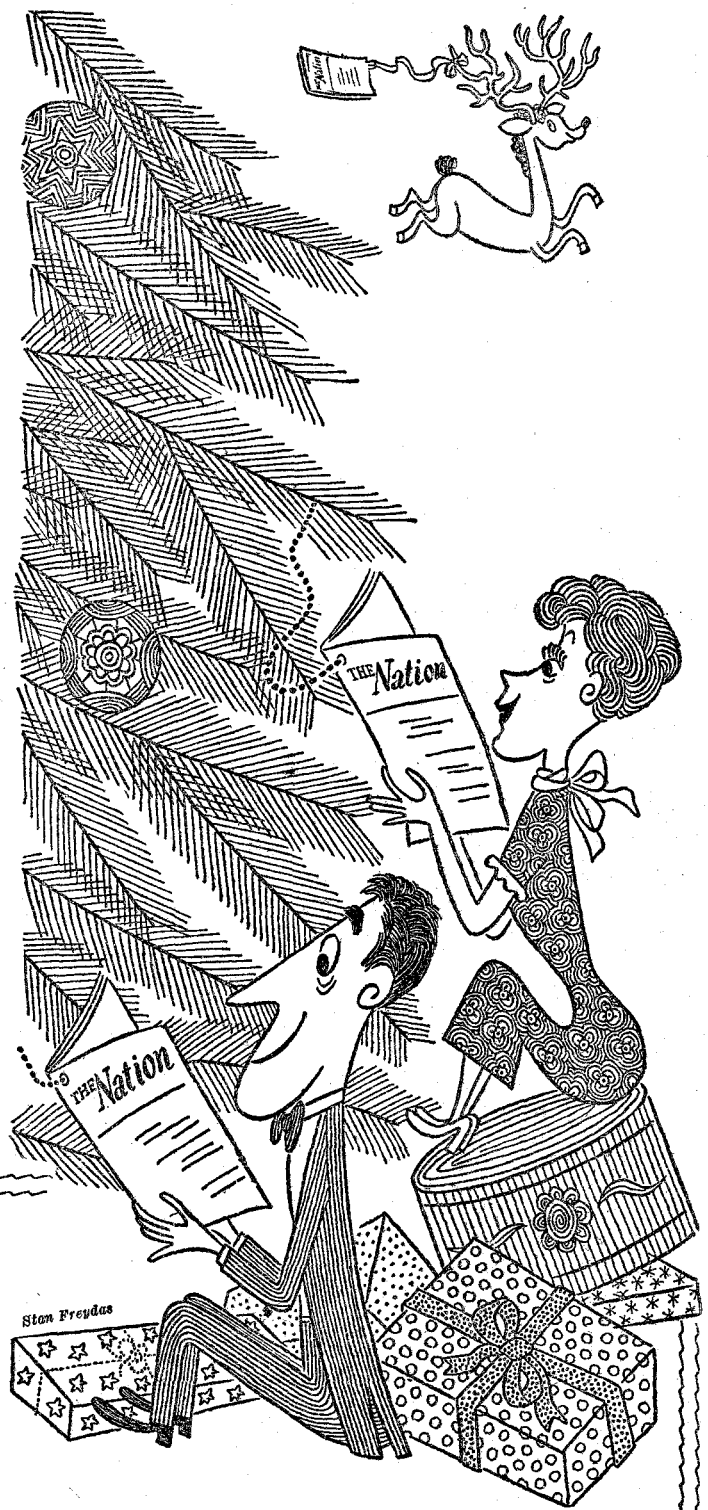

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